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The Realistic Presentation of American Characters in Native American Plays Prior to Eighteen Seventy

BY

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PART I

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PREFACE

Research in the field of American letters would hardly seem to require an apology. It is a well-known fact that native literature contains many important problems which up to the present have failed to receive scientific treatment. This circumstance alone seems to justify investigation such as is here undertaken.

My subject, chosen from our lesser American literature, is: The Realistic Presentation of American Characters in Native American Plays Prior to Eighteen Seventy. This means that I am to examine all significant dramatic pieces, written by authors either American-born or closely identified with American interests, with the object of determining *to what extent, in what manner,* and *with what fidelity* these playwrights have drawn their characters from distinctive American life, just as it actually was, during the different historical periods prior to 1870.

This problem presents three phases: The first deals with the dramatic characters which realistically reflect actual American life; the second, with characters which embody elements of a distinctive American nationality; and the third, with characters from American life which possess universality of human interest.

The first phase has been given the most space, not because of greatest importance but because of its widely inclusive nature. As a test of realistic representation of real persons or conditions I have supplemented internal evidence with frequent references to historical documents. In handling the second phase, notwithstanding the occasional denial of a distinctive nationality to the United States, I have on the contrary proceeded with a certain positiveness, and have tried to show to what extent characteristics of a national mind appear in native drama. Concerning the element of universality the verdict has been spoken almost before I begin. If American drama, prior to 1870, contains characters with an appeal not bounded by time and place—which plays are they, pray? who is producing them? and who is reading them? Such retort, however, will not dispose of this last phase of my subject, for there do exist

a few American plays of genuine merit. These will be pointed out in their proper place.

In order to determine even with a fair degree of accuracy the extent, the manner, and the fidelity of the realistic presentation of American characters it is of course necessary as an initial step that there be made a thorough analysis and wide survey of native dramatic literature. Because America has never experienced a dramatic golden age, it does not follow that there has been wanting a sufficiency of aspiring native playwrights. Such an opinion would be farthest from the truth. If all the plays written in America prior to 1870 were on record—that is, good, bad, and indifferent—the number would run into the thousands. This at once argues the impossibility of examining *all* native dramatic pieces.

The first requirement of the person who would peruse the American drama of the past is obviously a fairly comprehensive bibliography. Such has been provided by Messrs. Oscar Wegelin and Robert F. Roden for The Dunlap Society. The Wegelin-Roden bibliography is a compilation of the titles of plays by American authors, either published or performed, or both, in America between 1714 and 1900.[1] This list, while not complete, is more inclusive than any other and is believed to contain the titles of all native American productions that are of significance in tracing the rise of native drama. It gives the names—with additional information—of more than one thousand plays that may be called American. Some eight hundred of these were written before 1870.

I wish to state here that I have used this bibliography of American plays as a directory for my reading. I also acknowledge my indebtedness to it in compiling a list of representative American plays, chronologically arranged, in Bibliography I. Although frequently looking farther and now and then taking characters from plays not mentioned by Wegelin or Roden, I have notwithstanding made comparatively small use of supplementary pieces; for in most respects the aforesaid bibliography seems sufficiently representative and complete.

Of the some eight hundred American plays that appeared before 1870 about one hundred and fifty have been found unavailable, owing principally to a lack of information about their authorship, their period of composition, their place and time of production, or other important data. Of the remaining six hundred and fifty, however, definite use may be made: believing this latter group of

[1] See Bib. II.

plays to be representative of native dramatic writing prior to 1870, I have taken them as the basis of my study. More than three hundred of these pieces are discovered by noting the titles or the list of characters only, neither to present, nor to be suitable to present, realistic characters from American life. The remaining body of plays, however, is by no means so obvious, so that the searcher of American realism has imposed upon him necessarily the examination of at least three hundred American dramatic pieces, many of which were never played and would hardly take rank in the proverbial seventh-rate category.

For presenting the results of my investigation I have used the following method: In the first place, the history of the rise of American drama, prior to 1870, may be said to divide somewhat naturally into three periods, namely, the Period of Spontaneity (1751-1787), the Period of Experiment and Dependence (1787-1815), and the Period of Development and Partial Independence (1815-1870). Each of these three general periods may be separated conveniently and often unarbitrarily into two or more subdivisions, depending often upon conditions either wholly or partly external to the drama, usually of a theatrical or political nature. To each subperiod I have given a chapter, the contents of which I have made the specimens of realistic characters which are found in the representative realistic plays of that period. These characters are assembled into wide groups, which frequently admit of further classification, and in each group are included such examples, often accompanied by remarks, as seem to be sufficiently and correctly illustrative. This means that in a given group all the examples obtainable are not usually included but rather such as clearly exemplify the predominating tendency along realistic lines. Inasmuch as the realism of play-characters is usually suggestive, and only more or less complete, many specimens will be discovered that but partially satisfy. It is believed, however, whether the characters herein included are convincing or not, that they are the best available and indicate the actual status of realistic character-presentation of each period. Consequently, if this, and this only, be true, nothing further primarily needs to be aimed at.

As a background for the character-groups and, furthermore, as a partial justification of the various subdivisions, I have introduced each part and chapter with a few brief remarks, some bearing upon the status of the native theater and drama of the day, others directing attention to persons, movements, and conditions

that seemed to exercise a determinative influence, and all in a general way tracing facts and circumstances that mark the historical development of the drama in America. To each chapter I have appended the conclusion to which my survey has led, and in the general conclusion, following the last chapter, I have presented in condensed form the leading facts and deductions relative to my problem.

The subject of realistic character presentation in American plays has already been touched upon in a few books and in a larger number of magazine articles. Although the authors of these writings, as far as I can discover, make small claim to exhaustive study, direct attention primarily to certain well-known American stage types, give limited space to the manner of the character-realism pointed out, and seldom attempt to trace the development of realistic tendencies in relation to determinative causes, yet to these same works I acknowledge many obligations. Most of the works which I have consulted are given in Bibliography II.

My special thanks are due to Professor J. V. Denney and Professor Brander Matthews, for suggesting and helping to define my subject; to the former and Professor G. H. McKnight, for helpful advice, encouragement, and criticism; to Professor M. B. Evans, for critical comment; to Miss Maud Jeffrey, reference librarian at Ohio State University library, for untiring effort in securing the loan of American plays; and to the Library of Congress, the Boston Public Library, Brown University Library, University of Pennsylvania Library, Harvard University Library, and others, for generously loaning rare and valuable dramatic pamphlets.

P. I. R.

Ohio State University, Columbus
June 6, 1916

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PART I

THE REALISTIC PRESENTATION OF AMERICAN CHARACTERS IN THE NATIVE AMERICAN PLAYS OF THE PERIOD OF SPONTANEITY 1751-1787

The beginning of somewhat significant dramatic and theatrical activity in the American colonies may be dated from 1751. In this year there was published in Boston a three-act farce, entitled "The Suspected Daughter" and written by T. T. (unidentified), which is probably the first dramatic production by a native American.[1] About this time (1750-52), also, preparations were making in England for sending to America a genuinely professional company of actors. This project was undertaken by William Hallam, a minor manager and actor of London, and because of the success of his troupe—under the direct management of his brother Lewis—as compared with earlier [2] more or less professional efforts, William Hallam is sometimes mentioned as the "father of the American stage." [3]

Following 1751 native plays began to appear frequently,[4] and the American theater, through the activities of professional English players, came gradually into existence.[5]

As the closing date of what may be called the first period of dramatic history in America the year 1787 is assigned. In the spring of this year there was produced in New York, Royall Tyler's comedy of "The Contrast," which is considered our first native play with an obvious American stamp.[6] Here appeared the original of a line of stage-Yankees who were successfully acted for three-quarters of a century.

The phase of American drama antedating the presentation of "The Contrast" I have called the period of spontaneity. This desig-

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[1] See Wegelin, 7.
[2] See Seilhamer, I:1-18; Neidig, 86-88.
[3] See Dunlap, 3-8; 347.
[4] See Bib. I.
[5] See Dunlap, 1-65.
[6] See Part II, Chapter 1; also, Ford, A., 684-86.

nation is not largely arbitrary. Before 1787 native drama received little direct encouragement. This is attributable to a disregard of culture in the struggle for existence, the presence of English players and plays on the Colonial stage, the hostility of many colonists to theatrical performances, and the absence from American society of persons of special literary aptitude. In spite of these conditions, however, there were many persons who did not forget the pleasure, the art and the power of dramatic writing: some seemed anxious to dramatize the New World materials, a few perhaps aspired to literary excellence, others undertook a play by way of experiment or diversion, but the great majority were induced to write because they wished to instruct or arouse, and knew no more effective vehicle of expression than the dramatic form. Thus, there appeared between 1751 and 1787 some forty [7] inferior pieces, budding forth without the warmth of a true theatrical atmosphere and developing largely because of an irrepressible dramatic instinct in the midst of scenes of action.

The play-characters of this period of spontaneity in American drama fall somewhat naturally into two groups: The first embraces the characters of the Provincial plays which were written between 1751 and 1774. The second group includes the characters of the Revolutionary pieces which are products of the epoch between 1774 and 1787.

[7] Following Wegelin.

CHAPTER I

REALISTIC CHARACTERS IN AMERICAN PLAYS WRITTEN BETWEEN 1751 AND 1774

The Beginning Years of American Drama

To the student of American drama in its relation to American life our earliest plays become both interesting and valuable. As far back as Provincial times native playwrights were cognizant of the dramatic materials of the New World. A few of their productions reflect the dominant features of Colonial life so accurately as to prove a close relation between the plays and the atmosphere that warmed them into being. Of some twenty native dramatic pieces [1] written prior to 1774 at least half are American in tone and in many respects bear a stamp of actuality that challenges special attention.[2]

Before the Revolution the best native dramatic writing came from the pens of Andrew Barton (probably Col. Thomas Forrest; 1745-1828), Thomas Godfrey (1736-1763), and Robert Rogers (1727-1798). The leading centers of theatrical activity were Williamsburg, Annapolis, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. The chief professional players were those headed by the elder Lewis Hallam and David Douglass. Amateur performances that tended to react against puritanic prejudices were sometimes given by Harvard college students.[3]

The reason for making 1751 the opening date of this chapter has been given.[4] The end of dramatic and theatrical activity in the colonies—although native drama and the theater were yet almost ununited[5]—may be said to have come in 1774.[6] In this year the first Continental Congress recommended the closing of all Colonial theaters, and inasmuch as the opinions of this worthy body were usually adopted by the populace the resolution had in a

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[1] Bib. I, for this chapter, omits about a half-dozen college-commencement dialogues and two or three inconsequential plays recorded by Wegelin.

[2] Cf. Tyler, B., II:188.

[3] Ford, A., 683.

[4] See Part I, Introduction.

[5] See Part II, Chap. I.

[6] See Dunlap, 35.

general way its desired effect. By this time, also, native dramatic writing had begun to take on a distinct political coloring.

1. Indian Characters

The aboriginal as a dramatic character [7] is not utilized in the native provincial plays to the extent one might presume; for to my knowledge, as far as the subperiod under scrutiny is concerned, only two plays contain Indian roles.[8] The earlier is de Villeneuve's negligible tragedy in French, entitled "Le Père Indien" (1753), which has never been printed; the other is a superior tragedy called "Ponteach; or, The Savages of America" (1766), by Major Robert Rogers, a famous Colonial Indian fighter. Rogers' play is doubtless the best of the time and contains an interesting group of natives.

The hero is Ponteach, an ambitious chief of the Great Lakes region. He is represented as suspicious and visionary, imaginative and superstitious, impulsive and energetic, crafty and intellectual. He reveres the memory and customs of his ancestors; he desires to keep his long-trod hunting grounds inviolate; he receives his friends with an unfeigned good will, but avenges his wrongs with a merciless cruelty. Daring and firmness, even in an enemy, excite his admiration; treachery and haughtiness, wherever observed, kindle in his heart a flame of indignation. In success he is proud and peremptory; in reverses he keeps resolute and undespairing.

In such a delineation of this sachem it would not be impossible to discover idealization; yet if compared with the real red man of history [9] and not judged by romantic accounts of the Indian,[10] it is believed that Ponteach will be found to embody the more significant attributes of his race.

A passing remark may be made on the other chiefs of the play. Astinaco is shrewd and statesmanlike, always preferring a sly, secret means to effect his purpose; the Wolf is an aged chief who looks backward for true Indian life, considers the young In-

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[7] The original introduction of Indian characters into a dramatic composition on American soil was a French masque by Marc Lescarbot, bearing the title "Théâtre de Neptune." This was written and acted at Port Royal, Acadie, in 1606, and has for characters Neptune, six tritons, four Indians, and a jovial attendant. See Gay, "The First Amer. Play," *Nation*, 88:136.

[8] In Cockings' "The Conquest of Canada" the Indian allies of the French are made to yell several times, but there are no written Indian parts.

[9] See McMaster, *Hist. of the People of the U. S.*, 1:5-8; Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 1:40-45; 183.

[10] Cooper's novels, Chateaubriand's travels, etc.

dians puny and cowardly, and is strongly opposed to English encroachments; the Bear entertains hope of withstanding the venturesome palefaces by uniting the discordant tribes.

A particularly striking realism is to be observed in the following characters. The conjurer [11] cries, howls, and beats his breast in prayer, and subjects himself to sweats and chills, to come into the desired relation with the Great Spirit. The warriors [12] in their most ferocious state of mind madly crave the enemy's blood; after capturing, scalp and cleave open the head; and thereafter seldom scruple to appease their hounds with a feast of luckless brains! The red hunters are friendly, simple-hearted denizens of the forest; they show an insatiable thirst for rum, paying for a small quantity a fabulous price in skins; when angered by ill treatment, they premeditate terrible vengeance, not only against their wrongdoers but against all persons of the white race.

With the exception of Ponteach, the leading Indian characters of Rogers' tragedy seem least realistic; yet if we push to the background the literary restrictions which the author observed, then the vitality and truth to nature of the characters—especially of the minor—become more evident.

Other Indian Characters

Philip (impetuous, fiendish, blood-thirsty young brave), Chekitan (deliberate, justice-loving young Indian), and Tenesco (sagacious counselor to the sachem), Rogers, "Ponteach" (1766).

2. Frontier Characters

The principal examples of frontier characters are also found in "Ponteach." The author represents them in an extremely unfavorable light, causing us to suspect an intentional exposure of the duplicity and treachery imputed to English bordermen [13] and French priests.[14]

The two traders,[15] McDole and Murphey, are bold impersonations of rascality, the latter showing greater resemblance to a civilized being only because of his shorter frontier experience. He possesses a conscience not altogether smothered, and manifests some reluctance to engaging in his companion's knavish practices.

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[11] See Rogers, *Concise Account of N. A.*, 247.
[12] See Parkman, *Conspiracy, etc.*, 1:19.
[13] See Parkman, *Conspiracy, etc.*, 1:173.
[14] See Winsor, *Narrative and Critical Hist. of Amer.*, I:307-8.
[15] See Parkman, *Conspiracy, etc.*, 1:174.

But McDole complacently runs the whole gamut of trickery. Craving money inordinately, he gulls the Indian traders by first treating them to drugged wine, then by charging exorbitantly for all his merchandise, and finally by cheating their drunken simplicity out of a good share of the weight. This he perpetrates without a trace of shame, for to him they are nothing but the most cunning of wild beasts. He further reveals his sordidness by feeling little concern for the innocent colonists who are massacred by the Indians' misplaced vengeance which such men as he have aroused.

The villainy of these representations, though shown with incredible blackness, is after all not without a large element of truth.[16]

In the character of Mrs. Honnyman, a hunter's wife, we find a frontier woman in some ways typical.[17] She is God-trusting, motherly, and gentle; has unwillingly accompanied her husband to the border, and disapproves of the treachery practiced upon the Indians, although of much of it she is kept in ignorance. Like the ill-fated wife of many a pioneer she becomes a prisoner and the victim of savage barbarity.

Another noteworthy frontier character of Rogers' tragedy is a French priest. Although doubtless misrepresenting his religious order he is not unlikely drawn from a real prototype.[18] This Jesuit is made ambitious, subtle and hypocritical, worldly, debauched and villainous; under the mask of his holy office he imposes upon the Indians' credulity, and by any means that his craftiness can devise labors to antagonize them against the English settlers.

Other Frontier Characters

Honnyman and Orsbourn (unprincipled hunters), Rogers, "Ponteach" (1866).

Abbess and Two Nuns (at the siege of Quebec, 1759), Cockings, "The Conquest of Canada (1766).

3. Military Characters

Two military officers of the frontier, Colonel Cockum and Captain Frisk, are presented in "Ponteach." They are proud, rough-mannered braggarts and even to the friendly Indians are harsh and cruel.[19] They never hesitate to provoke hatred, for in their opinion the country should as soon as possible get rid of dangerous animals and wily savages.

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[16] Parkman, *Conspiracy, etc.*, I:173-74; II:321.

[17] Cf. Winsor, *Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Amer.*, I:292.

[18] See Parkman, *Conspiracy, etc.*, I:56.

[19] *Ibid.*, I:175.

Other Military Characters

Raccoon (old debauchee of foreign extraction, who is seeking a colonel's commission), Barton, "The Disappointment" (1767).

Captain Gripeall and Captain Bagshot (Tories), Warren, "The Adulateur" (1773).

4. Political Characters

As should be expected, there appears in our earliest plays a variety of political characters, many of which accurately recall the leading interests and issues of the quarter-century just preceding the Revolution.

a. The Public Official

Sharp, Gripe, and Catchum, three English governors in "Ponteach" (1766), are haughty, unscrupulous officials, and feel but little responsibility for anything except their own welfare. They flatter and cheat the Indians, then treat them with contempt. Of the king's presents to his red brothers they first take a large share of the best for themselves; and when the grateful warriors reciprocate, again the governors keep back the most valuable gifts. They too by their perfidy become the instigators of outrages against the unoffending settlers.

b. The Patriot

The Patriot cause is earnestly championed in "The Adulateur" (1773) by such enthusiasts as Brutus, Junius, Cassius, and Portius. These names of course when interpreted mean Otis, the Adamses, Warren, or any of the other most zealous leaders. The rôle of Brutus is particularly full of patriotic fervor. He stands firm for untrammelled liberty and justice; with lofty utterance he harangues his eager followers; he prefers to keep sedate, yet insists on a determined spirit; he cherishes the memory of a liberty-loving sire, and brands his yielding countrymen as groveling vipers; he becomes inflamed at the injustice of the courts, the licentiousness of the soldiery, and the affronts of brazen-faced tyranny; his soul bursts forth in a flame of righteous indignation, and at freedom's altar he will sacrifice all that life calls dearest.

The passion, the satire, and the partisan authorship of "The Adulateur" naturally render its characterization unreliable as far as exact portraiture is concerned; yet when we draw aside the curtain of prejudice that obscures the actual conditions there are few

dramatic pieces exhibiting more faithfully the opinions, the moods, and the acts that helped to precipitate the Revolution.

Other Patriot Characters

Deacon Graveairs (represented by a Tory author as a stupid, ignorant Whig), Sewall, "A Cure for the Spleen" (1775).[20]

c. The Tory

Governor Rapatio (Thomas Hutchinson; "head-devil of British tyranny in America"[21]), P——— ———p (Tory who cringes, bows and fawns to get an office and pension), E———r and Meagre (other Tories), and Justice Hazlerod (creature of Rapatio: bombastic, servile pretender), Warren, "The Adulateur" (1773).

Bumper (honest country justice; advocates right of England to rule over the colonists) and Quaker Brim (shrewd, unfailing friend of monarchy[22]), Sewall, "A Cure for the Spleen" (1775).

d. The Politician

Colonel Robert Munford of Virginia wrote a satire entitled "The Candidates"[23] which contains some genuine political characters. The most important probably is Mr. Wou'dbe, who aspires to the office of burgess in the Virginia general assembly. He possesses a strong personality, an even temper, and a working sense of justice and integrity. In speech he is direct, and deliberately makes his political promises. But he is now in politics and cannot easily avoid electioneering tactics; that is, if he may hope to represent his countrymen. One or two of his speeches will characterize him further:

WOU'DBE. Who are you for?

GUZZLE. For the first man that fills my bottle; so Mr. Wou'dbe, your servant. (Exit.)

WOU'DBE. Ralpho, go after him and fill his bottle.

RALPHO. Master, we ought to be careful of the rum, else 'twill not hold out. (Exit.)

WOU'DBE (pulling out his watch). 'Tis now time a friend of mine has appointed for me to meet the freeholders at a barbacue. Well, I find, in order to secure a seat in our august senate, 'tis necessary a man should be either a slave or a fool: a slave to the people for the privilege of serving them, and a fool himself for thus begging a troublesome and expensive employment. (p. 24.)

Again he says:

Tomorrow being the day of election, I have invited most of the principal freeholders to breakfast with me, on their way to the court-house. (p. 43.)

Other Politician Characters

Mr. Worthy (former delegate to the Virginia assembly; consents to "stand a poll" again), Sir John Toddy (candidate who "loves tipple too well"), Guzzle (freeholder, rough and out-

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[20] Although this piece was not published till 1775, it is thought on account of its subject matter to have been written some months earlier. Hence its inclusion with the Provincial plays.

[21] Tyler, B., II:194.

[22] See Bancroft, *Hist. of U. S.*, V:468.

[23] See Bib. I.

spoken; sells vote for a drink of liquor), Mr. Strutabout (coxcomb candidate), Mr. Smallhopes (another candidate), Twist (votes for the man who promises to reduce taxes), Prize (voter), Ned and Jack (tools of candidates; move among voters to create sentiment), and Captain Paunch (sober-minded voter), Munford, "The Candidates."

Puff (late Representative to the Continental Congress; drawn from Tory viewpoint), Sewall, "A Cure for the Spleen" (1775).

5. Rural Characters

"The Candidates" contains three characters that belong in this section. The first is Mrs. Guzzle who, having a drunkard husband, imbibes too freely herself. But when she begins to hiccough and grow sick and dizzy she explains that she has eaten too much ginger-bread! The remaining two are Lucky Twist and Catharine Stern, wives of Virginia freeholders. They show more than passing interest in local politics. Mrs. Twist favors Mr. Wou'dbe for burgess, because he is good to poor people and "when he comes into a poor body's house he's so free and so funny." Mrs. Stern finds herself in difficulty between the candidate and her jealous husband:

> If a clever gentleman, nowadays, only give a body a ginger-cake in a civil way, you're sullen for a week about it. Remember when Mr. Wou'dbe promised Molly a riband, a pair of buckles, you would not let the poor girl have 'em; but you take toddy from him—yes, and you'll drink a little too much, you know, Richard. (p. 26.)

Real women seem to be suggested in these characters.

6. Man of Affairs Characters

In Colonial days the inn-keeper was always one of the consequential citizens of a community. Such a man of affairs appears in both "A Cure for the Spleen" (1775) and "The Disappointment" (1767). The former contains Landlord Fillpot, a Whig, who tries as far as possible to remain neutral in political controversies. The latter play presents the tavern-keeper, Hum. This landlord deserves the title of "fine fellow," for he can boast the qualities that are irresistible to the masses. Jolly, loquacious and sociable, he also drinks, swears and swaggers after the fashion of a "gentleman"; to hear a good joke is his delight, and in the execution of one he acknowledges few superiors. His tavern is the official assembly hall of all the idlers of the community.

7. Working-Man Characters[24]

In the Colonial plays a few interesting examples of the working

[24] This section is intended to include characters taken from the so-called laboring class. It embraces dependent workmen, their families and usual associates, and all persons in general of small affairs.

man are to be noted, and the most of them seem to be copied from actual persons.

"A Cure for the Spleen" (1775) contains a barber named Trim. He is a conceited, talkative fellow and a fine specimen of small-town politician. He always takes sides as policy directs, and seeing that his customers are mostly Whigs becomes a leading advocate of the popular cause. In self-defense Trim insists:

> If I was denied the privilege of my shop to canvass politics, as a body may say, that is, Lord North, East India company, constitution, charter rights and privileges, duties, taxes, and the like o' that—body o' me, sir, strip me of this darling privilege, and you may take my razors, soap, combs, and all.

In "The Disappointment" (1767) there is presented a liberal, merry-hearted Irish cooper named Trushoop. He is greedy for money but unwilling to stultify himself completely in getting it. A disturbing circumstance of his life is his wife's temper; this, however, he can usually mollify by an increase of pin-money. Whenever Mrs. Trushoop loosens her sharp tongue in the shop, her husband takes advantage of his position and pounds from the barrels a drowning bass!

Another character that has some undeniably realistic touches is the honest and virtuous but sharp-tongued wife of the cooper just mentioned. Mrs. Trushoop possesses an independent air, frets and scolds on slight provocation, and brings her wayward husband into submission with cutting words, occasional blows, and a discontinuance of the regular meals. Her tastes are coarse and sordid; she grows jealous of her neighbors' good fortunes; with her husband she tipples the rum-bottle, and because of his too frequent late hours bitterly defames his fraternal brothers, the Masons.

If we thoughtfully review these characters of common life, we cannot fail to recognize a large element of human nature running through them. In the case of "The Disappointment," moreover, we have the author's own statement that in his writings he had in mind an actual situation and real persons.[25]

Other Working-Man Characters

Washball (barber), Buckram (material-minded, stormy-natured Scotch tailor), Trowell (easy-going plasterer), Topinlift (happy-go-lucky sailor: speaks in nautical terms), and Moll Placket (strumpet), Barton, "The Disappointment" (1767).

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[25] "I am obliged to assure the public that the story is founded on fact, transacted near this city (Philadelphia) not long since and recent in the memory of thousands, and for the truth of which I appeal to my fellow citizens." From preface, Barton, "The Disappointment," 2d ed.

Ford, in A, 679, mentions the Douglass company's rehearsal and later withdrawal of "The Disappointment" without playing, in 1767, because of a too personal characterization.

8. Fashionable Society Characters

The fashionable class, naturally enough, has small representation among the realistic American characters of Provincial plays. Only one of the more important pieces utilizes such, namely, "The Disappointment."

Here we see Miss Lucy, Washball's niece, and her suitor, Meanwell; but both are romantic types. Mrs. Trowell is more distinctive. It can hardly be doubted that she is a sample of a well-known New York class of the day. She represents the would-be fashionable wife. Once she was jealous of her inconsequential spouse; now she is resigned to anything he may choose to do. She consumes her time in gossiping and gadding, and imagines that without her charming presence the tea parties, card parties, theater parties, garden parties, and sleighing parties would suffer appreciably. Whenever it becomes necessary to win her husband's approbation her tactics are always wheedling. Among the causes of the day to which she generously lends her support are the virtues of Freemasonry: here she maintains is to be found the quintessence of religion.

9. Servant Characters

Dolly (maid; becomes flustered when hurried; curses the slow-boiling kettle; blows the fire and gets smoke in her eyes), Barton, "The Disappointment" (1767).

Ralpho (servant to Wou'dbe, candidate for burgess; asks for a new suit while his master is treating the voters), Munford, "The Candidates."

10. Professional Characters

A fair example of the orthodox Tory parson appears in "A Cure for the Spleen" (1775). Parson Sharp is looked up to as a learned and almost perfect man, and whatever doctrine he sees fit to promulgate is accepted as incontrovertible.[26] He "compares the Americans to the Jews, who, though placed in the chosen land by their king who had 'driven out the Canaanites, the Indians, before them, now vauntingly say, Who shall be Lord over us?' " [27] And those ministers who preach from the pulpit rebellion and politics he considers as special objects of denunciation.

"The Disappointment" (1767) contains a scrivener called Parchment. This official—in his own estimation at least—is one of the city's most substantial citizens. He declares himself a gentle-

[26] See Byington, *The Puritan in Eng. and N. E.*, 128.

[27] Dunlap, 48.

man both by education and birth, and in his personal habits follows his fashionable associates. His air is learned and dignified, and his diction shows traces of legal phraseology. In his profession he is as honorable and crafty as seems expedient; in his politics he defends the principles of republicanism.

11. Charlatan Characters

Rattletrap (plays part of a conjurer, though not in his regular employment; seems to imitate real persons who claim to do magic), Barton, "The Disappointment" (1767).

Conclusion

The realistic presentation of American characters in native plays prior to 1774 is as follows:

I

1. Characters that realistically reflect American life appear in at least half of the some twenty plays recorded by Wegelin prior to 1774.[28]

Bibliography I gives all the important pre-Revolutionary plays.

2. Most of the realistic characters are found in the pieces that treat native historical or political subjects. In this category three-fourths of all the early plays containing American characters belong.

3. The predominant class of realistic characters is political.

The various political characters reflect a variety and range of interests comparable to the heterogeneous life of the colonies.

4. The play-characters and situations are closely related to the real people and conditions of the time.

Sometimes, as in "Ponteach," "The Disappointment," and "The Adulateur," well-known individuals are so directly copied that their identity is recognizable.

5. No suggestion of the Yankee type occurs, and comparatively small use is made of Indians and fashionable persons as dramatic characters.

II

There are perhaps to be discovered remote hints of some of the distinctive elements which distinguish American nationality.

Material-mindedness is satirized in "The Disappointment"; the interest of the commoner in national politics is suggested in "A Cure for the Spleen"; and the bold resolve to keep inviolate our "certain unalienable rights" is exemplified by the spirit of the Patriot characters in "The Adulateur."

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[28] Conclusions numerically stated are always based on Wegelin's or Roden's complete bibliographies, and not on the *selected* list of Bib. I of this work.

III

None of our Provincial plays, whether containing realistic characters or not, possesses enduring qualities. The early pieces died with the civilization that fostered them.

CHAPTER II

REALISTIC CHARACTERS IN AMERICAN PLAYS WRITTEN BETWEEN 1774 AND 1787

An Epoch of Partisan Pieces

The Continental Congress effectually closed [1] the Provincial theaters, as far as professional acting was concerned,[2] in the fall of 1774. No noteworthy performances again occurred till 1782 when the Baltimore company, first managed by Lindsay and Wall, later by Ryan,[3] began professional playing. The first play acted in the new republic, under the protection of the American flag, was performed in New York by the second Lewis Hallam and his feeble company in 1785.[4] From then on for several seasons the Old American company, jointly directed by Hallam and Henry, was the leading theatrical troupe of the country, and became instrumental in turning the public mind again to the playhouse. During the troublesome years of the War for Independence all Patriots were naturally of a single mind, and even had the new Congress not looked with disfavor on dramatic activity we may be assured that there would have been little interest taken in the production of native plays.

However, within the thirteen years following 1774 [5] a significant amount of dramatic writing was attempted, for bibliographies containing the plays of the time record some twenty pieces.[6] The majority of these compositions were neither suitable nor intended for production on the regular stage, and it seems certain that only an occasional author aspired to anything like literary excellence. Therefore, the incentive for frequent pieces in dramatic form must

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[1] It should not be forgotten that between 1775 and 1781, under the direction of English military officers, the drama was encouraged and theaters were maintained in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia while these cities were occupied by the British. See Dunlap, 46-55; Seilhamer, II:16-50.

[2] See Ford, B, 30.

[3] See Seilhamer, II:51-133.

[4] Dunlap, 58.

[5] See Part I, Introduction, for reason for making 1787 the closing date of this chapter.

[6] See Wegelin.

be sought beyond an interest in the theater or a desire to produce literature.

After noting the general tenor of these plays we shall arrive at a satisfactory explanation: for acting or artistic expression the plays of the Revolutionary epoch were not intended, but rather for a purpose more practical, namely, as effective vehicles of expression for intense feelings and cherished convictions, as mediums of self-assertion, of condemnation, or of exhortation to the oppressed.

The best native plays of the epoch were written by Hugh Henry Brackenridge (1748-1816), Peter Markoe (1735-1792), and Mrs. Mercy Otis Warren (1728-1814).

1. Military Characters

With few exceptions, each play of the Revolutionary epoch contains realistic military or political characters, together with a plot that owes its origin to the day's issues. Virtually all of these characters fall into two comprehensive groups—that of the Loyalists and that of the Patriots. Hence, in an analytical survey we may expect to see a motley array of partisans delineated in varying degrees of fidelity.

a. The Officer

In "The Fall of British Tyranny" (1776), a native chronicle play and grand satire on the Tories, several American characters are represented, among whom is General Washington. He is drawn as a consecrated Patriot leader and unfailing friend of the people. In the face of discouragements and British chicanery he keeps hopeful; in his military operations he displays insight and wisdom; in his manner, although always sympathetic and concerned about details, he exhibits directness and determination.

Such a characterization is fundamentally correct.

In the same play Colonel Ethan Allen, the commander of a scouting party, is reproduced with much of his reputed bravery and boldness. He wishes to obey the law and strongly resents the opprobrium of being called a rebel. When he recalls his own gentleness with the British and now sees his captured party made to suffer cruel and inhuman torture, his soul rebels, and scorning to beg for his life from such unfeeling masters he vows to withstand foreign tyranny until it is dealt its death-blow.[7]

[7] See Bancroft, *Hist. of U. S.*, V:118-19; Hart, *Amer. Hist. told by Contemporaries*, II:508-11.

In a crude attempt at a political farce on the Patriot cause, entitled "The Battle of Brooklyn" (1776), there appears an exaggerated Tory view of the American leaders, Washington and Putnam, as well as some significant hints concerning the strength and quality of the Patriot army. Both generals and other officers are of abject character, and are working to selfish ends; finding the colonists a gullible lot, they meet with few obstacles in their course; in warfare their stupidity and weakness render their faint efforts ridiculous. Washington is stigmatized as a profligate,[8] while Putnam stands forth as a common robber. Three American colonels are represented as follows: Lasher is a New York shoemaker; Remsen, a Long Island farmer; and Clark, a Connecticut rum-seller. Skinner, a thief and now a minor officer, is employed by Putnam to steal horses in the neighborhood.

Professor Tyler describes the piece as "unutterably coarse—mere provender for bovine and porcine appetites—a triumphant exhibition of vigor in the flinging back of filth at the enemy—in these respects, therefore, an authentic memorial of the very spirit and procedure of the time."[9] It might further be observed that, if judged in an unprejudiced state of mind, underlying some of these allegations there is a trifle of truth.[10]

In Brackenridge's second and superior dramatic poem, "The Death of General Montgomery in Storming the City of Quebeck" (1777), there is presented a group of American military officers who in many respects resemble their originals. Below I mention two.

Generals Arnold and Montgomery, as they herein appear, are each endued with the spirits of true Patriots. The former is a valiant and gallant leader; he abhors barbarity and to subdue it, is not unwilling to die a martyr; in order that he and his children may enjoy their natural rights, without a murmur he undergoes extreme suffering and privation.[11] The latter is a high-minded, circumspect general and holds essentially the same opinions as does General Arnold. He is proud of his troops, believes they are capable of any undertaking, and is never happier than when leading them in a charge. By nature he is religious and attached to home-

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[8] See Ford, *The True George Washington*, 105-07, for the foundation of scandal against Washington.

[9] Tyler, B, 209.

[10] See Bancroft, *Hist. of U. S.*, V:367-81.

[11] *Ibid.*, V:125-28.

associations. He is an ardent admirer of bravery, deems a warrior's death the highest of honors, and even while feeling a strong presentiment of an early death dashes courageously into battle.

Into "The Motley Assembly" (1779), a clever Patriot farce on Boston society life, two Revolutionary officers are introduced. These are Captain Aid (T. Cartwright[12]), a young gallant, with a commission in Washington's army, and Captain Careless (Amiel), "an honest young sea-captain." Captain Aid is characterized as "a little gay." Being a frequent visitor in Boston society he discovers that of late he is somewhat disdained, and that this coolness is intensified when he spiritedly proposes a toast to General Washington. Finally, seeing that unless a beau is a confirmed rake he is likely to grow uninteresting to the belles of the upper circle, he becomes disgusted with such emptiness and concludes to revise his visiting list.

Captain Careless is rough-mannered, but a true-blue son of liberty. He thinks it is the duty of every Whig to discountenance, "at all times and upon all occasions," the too common raillery and abuse by the Tories. Personally, he intends to treat such offenders with neglect and contempt; for above everything else he puts honor and patriotism, and is ashamed of the sons of professed Whigs, who show indifference and a lack of spirit.[13] His views, as well as the theme of the play, are expressed in the following lines from the epilogue:

> Blush B(oston)! blush! Thy honest sons bewail
> That dance and song o'er patriot zeal prevail;
> That Whigs and Tories, joined by wayward chance,
> Should hand in hand lead on the sprightly dance.
> * * * *
> In mix'd assembly, see, they crowd the place;
> Stain to the country, to their sires, disgrace;
> Hell in some hearts, but pleasure in each face.
> All—all are qualifi'd to join this tribe,
> Who have a hundred dollars to subscribe.

Munford's comedy of "The Patriots" [14] contains Trim, a recruiting sergeant, who uses his own plan for encouraging enlistments:

> I have the recruiting jugs full to the brim. Peach brandy, the best liquor in the world. (p. 79.)

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[12] Identifications of "The Motley Assembly" from the Harvard University library copy.

[13] See Hart, *Amer. Hist. told by Contemp.*, II:474-76.

[14] Although this play was not published till 1798, it must have been written during the Revolutionary epoch; for its author died in 1782, and its theme evidently suggests a contemporary intimacy with Revolutionary conditions.

Unfortunately, as soon as the brandy is consumed, the recruits turn deserters.

Other Officer Characters

Brigadier Hateall (Timothy Ruggles; heartless Tory; loyal supporter of General Gage), Warren, "The Group" (1775).

Warren, Putnam, Gardiner, and Webb (valiant American leaders), Brackenridge, "The Battle of Bunker's Hill" (1776).

Brackenridge in this mediocre dramatic poem, while imputing to the British officers perfidious motives in general, characterizes the leaders of the people in the familiar eulogistic fashion. The work, nevertheless, preserves the spirit of earnest Patriots.

General Putnam (shows high spirit, unflinching bravery, and sharp vindictiveness; trusts in God, and puts full confidence in his troops) and General Lee (without passion or haste; believes in the ultimate triumph of the colonists, yet reminds them of the inevitableness of hardships and privations), "The Fall of British Tyranny" (1776).

Macpherson (impetuous young hero), Cheeseman (New York captain, of personal charm), and Hedricks (Pennsylvania captain who sees honor in dying for liberty), Brackenridge, "The Death of General Montgomery" (1777).

Captain Flash (American recruiting officer and braggart) and Colonel Simple (cowardly officer who resigns his commission, giving old age as his reason), Munford, "The Patriots."

b. The Private

Oswald, a citizen of Connecticut, in "The Death of General Montgomery" (1777), possesses the attributes of a good volunteer. When the call for service comes, he is one of the first to respond; in the field he understands the individual soldier's responsibility; resolved to meet whatever fate awaits him he presses on with unwavering purpose, for he has decided before coming that English wrongs are no longer sufferable.

2. Political Characters

Among the realistic characters of our Revolutionary plays representatives of the political type are almost as numerous as those of the military. Since the two types are not infrequently found united it is advisable to consider them as of the same general class.

a. The Public Official

The Tory attitude and conduct, from the republican viewpoint, are scathingly depicted in Mrs. Warren's satire of "The Group" (1775). And a most satanic group it is! Chief Justice Hazlerod (Peter Oliver [15]) is represented as one of the leading offenders. He knows little law, for it is unnecessary: everything is settled by swords, dragoons, and ministerial nods; finding his conscience impeding the path of his prosperity, he would banish it and at the

[15] See Tyler, B, II:195.

same moment all human sympathy; the "jingling of the guinea" deafens the faint voice of justice at his ear; and in order to quell the upstart rebellious subjects, he favors the incitement of Indian malignity against them.

"The Fall of British Tyranny" (1776) has in its dramatis personae a few minor characters which on account of their reproducing actual conditions should receive a moment's close attention. One of these is a selectman of Boston. He sees in the blockade an attempt to starve the Americans. Such an act he heartily resents, as well as all other British interference. Personally, he is well pleased with the work of the Continental Congress; he thinks it unites mature counsel, strength, and wisdom and is worthy of the unreserved confidence of all serious-minded citizens.

Other Public Official Characters

Mr. Jenson (commissioner to France), Bidwell, "The Mercenary Match" (1785?).

b. The Patriot

From the conversation of a Whig in "The Fall of British Tyranny" (1776) we become better acquainted with the position of the Anti-Loyalist. He is greatly disturbed by the quartering of insolent troops among the colonists; indeed, with many of the king's acts he is out of patience, and does not now favor prolonged waiting for an answer to the petition for redress of grievances. His Tory neighbor advises to go slowly, for the English certainly mean to do right; at any rate, they are too strong to be resisted. The Whig replies that such a circumstance should not unnerve true Americans,—that they should oppose, regardless of the oppressor's strength. While the Tory urges respect for the mother country, the Whig becomes more bitter and outspoken, denouncing all office-seeking renegades about him and branding as suspected traitors such persons as refuse to take sides.[16]

In Munford's satirical play of "The Patriots" we are given an interesting "picture of real and pretended patriots." Meanwell and Trueman are represented as "gentlemen of fortune accused of Toryism," but genuine Patriots at heart. Their conception of loyalty is brought out in the following speeches of Meanwell:

> The cause of my country appears as dear to me as to those who most passionately declaim on the subject. The rays of the sun of freedom, which is now rising, have warmed my

[16] See Fisher, *The Struggle for Amer. Independence*, I:23; Hart, *Amer. Hist. told by Contemp.*, II:474-76.

heart, but I hope my zeal against tyranny will not be shown by bawling against it, but by serving my country against her enemies; and never may I signalize my attachment to liberty by persecuting innocent men. (p. 57.)

The last remark refers to the Scotch settlers who, refusing to come out openly for liberty, were rashly treated by the more demonstrative Patriots. Meanwell says further:

Men who aim at power without merit must conceal the meanness of their souls by noisy and passionate speeches in favor of everything which is the current opinion of the day; but real patriots are mild, and secretly anxious for their country, but modest in expression of zeal. They are industrious in the public service, but claim no glory to thesmselves. (p. 58.)

Such citizens by the radical class were considered "milksops" and were not infrequently called before "the committee" for investigation. But Trueman declares emphatically:

Whenever the conduct and principles of neither (Whig nor Tory) are justifiable, I am neither; as far as the conduct and principles of either correspond with the duties of a good citizen, I am both. (p. 105.)

That neither has any sympathy with a pretender, Meanwell's part in the following will show:

SIM. What must be done to Mr. Tackabout?
BRAZ. Duck him.
SKIP. Tar and feather him.
THUND. Advertise him.
MEAN. He should be duck'd as an incendiary, tarr'd as a nuisance, feather'd as a foul traitor, hang'd———, (p. 103.)

After many trying experiences Trueman finally concludes:

So in spite of all the malice and censure of the times, I am at last dubb'd a Whig. I am not wiser or better than before. My political opinions are still the same, my patriotic principles unaltered; but I have kick'd a Tory: it seems there is a merit in this which, like charity, hides a multitude of sins. (p. 107.)

A realistic scene is presented at the close of "The Blockheads" (1776) when the British are evacuating Boston and the refugees are experiencing unspeakable pain and suffering. Witnessing the confusion on every hand, a woman in the barracks remarks:

Good enough for them—they have brought it upon themselves; they had better have minded their farms, not have run here to be ridiculed to both parties. If I had a good farm I would see government to the devil, before they should catch me here, to be froz'd, famish'd, ridicul'd—curse them and their spiritless defenders, and let's conclude with huzzas for America. (p. 19.)

Other Patriot Characters

Citizens of Boston (hate the English governors; think the English ungrateful for the colonists' service in the late war against France; have faith in the Continental Congress), "The Fall of British Tyranny" (1776).

Brazen (coarse, blunt champion of the radical party), Munford, "The Patriots."

c. The Tory

In "The Motley Assembly," [17] a Patriot farce on the class of "taste and fashion" that was to be met in Boston about 1779, sev-

[17] See Bib. I. Ford, in A, 684, mentions this piece as "the first American play to have only American characters."

eral Tory sympathizers are presented, two of whom I shall here speak of. Mr. Runt (Inman [18]) is "a short, fat old fellow who is fond of gallanting the ladies." In his mind the rebels are little better than cattle; everybody is much worse off than before hostilities began; the treacherous French are responsible for no small amount of the colonists' hardships. For the sake of policy and safety he conceals a great deal of his true feeling. Turncoat (D. Hubbard) is "one of the managers of the assembly." He pretends to be a neutral; yet it is observed that as long as there is any hope of preferment by the British officers he takes care not in the least to offend them.

Mr. Tackabout, in "The Patriots" by Munford, is a pretended Whig but a real Tory. He "bawls" out for liberty, but is unwilling to forfeit his prospects of a title in England. Representing a coward and demagogue who "privately condemns but publicly approves" he is made to say with cutting irony:

> Where is the man that has done more than I have? I have damn'd the ministry, abus'd the king, vilified the parliament, and curs'd the Scotch. I have raised the people's suspicions against all moderate men; advised them to spurn all government; I have cried down Tories, cried up Whigs, extolled Washington as a god, and call'd Howe a very devil. I have exclaimed against all taxes, advised the people to pay no debts; I have promised them success in war, a free trade, and independent dominion. In short, I have inspired them with true patriotic fire, the spirit of opposition; and yet you say it is expected I should do something.

Colonel Simple remarks that "there are many to be found who do all this," and Trueman says aside, "And few who do anything else."

Other Tory Characters

Monsieur de François (faint-hearted French-American, who remains a Loyalist), Crusty Crowbar (conscience-stricken Tory), Hum Humbug, Sir Sparrow Spendall, Hector Mushroom, Simple Sapling, Scribblerius Fribble, and Judge Collateralis—Warren, "The Group" (1775).

All of these personages are supposed to be "attended by court sycophants, hungry harpies, and unprincipled danglers, collected from the neighboring villages, hovering over the stage in the shape of locusts, led by Massachusettensis in the form of a basalisk."—Following Dramatis Personae.

d. The Politician

Mr. Worthy (member of Congress), Bidwell, "The Mercenary Match" (1785?).
Isabella (female politician and radical Patriot), Munford, "The Patriots."

At the conclusion [19] of this and the preceding sections a second glance will not be out of place. In the military and political characters of Revolutionary plays appear the leading officers, types, opin-

[18] Identifications from marginal notes of copy in the Harvard University library.

[19] Brief attention is called at this time to the meritorious tragedy of Peter Markoe, entitled "The Patriot Chief" (1784). Artistically, it is the best play of the epoch. Although treating a foreign fable, its theme is particularly pertinent, being to show the dangers that often threaten a state from within at the hands of traitors, and the certain triumph over all perfidy when devoted Patriots are aroused.

ions, moods, and aims, along with representative occurrences, of nearly a decade of conflict. In many cases exaggeration, omissions, or idealization may be pointed out—such is to be expected; yet one cannot help feeling, after refreshing one's mind with the actual conditions of the day, that in these unpretentious American pieces is effectively and unshrinkingly contained the real essence of much that is today considered historically valuable. Were there nothing else to recommend them, this circumstance alone would be ample excuse for their study and resurrection.

3. Rural Characters

Only a small number of unmistakable country-characters are introduced into the Revolutionary plays. These, however, show marked realistic traits, and also a vital connection with the day's political affairs.

a. The Farmer

Among the characters of a satirical comedy called "The Blockheads" (1776) are two farmer refugees, Surly and Simple. Unhappier mortals are seldom seen, and in their hearts both repent of their folly. The first remembers that he once had property, a peaceful home, and kind neighbors; that for the promise of a pension and a post of honor he was enticed away; that his wife and daughter were then as pure as the angels of Heaven. What does he now perceive? He is friendless, because both the Patriots and the English disdain him; he occupies no office, and his family is living on charity; he fled to Boston for protection but finds none, for the British are afraid to fight; to the pangs of disgrace and famine are added the insults of military ruffians. Although resolving on account of his pride to make the best of his misfortune, he is avowedly wretched.

Simple, although fully as miserable as his brother Loyalist, is represented as a less refined type of farmer. He has plain manners and coarse diction; for style and luxury possesses no taste; is thoroughly dispirited by his financial losses, the British faithlessness, his wife and daughter's vanity, and his own shortsightedness. He sorely repents of having come to Boston, and declares were it not for the courts of inquiry he would throw himself upon the mercy of his former countrymen. He reproves himself for aspiring to a title and concludes that British loyalty is but a "court watchword."

The character delineation of a satirist naturally becomes caricature; yet the element of reality is not the less genuine because of its distorted or magnified proportions. In these two hapless refugees an actual condition of the time seems to be pointed.[20]

Other Farmer Characters

Roger and Dick (farmers of the neighborhood of Lexington; they are credulous, simple-hearted countrymen, and become wrought up over the approach of the British), Leacock, "The Fall of British Tyranny" (1776).

b. Other Rural Characters

A pathetic realistic scene is found in "The Fall of British Tyranny." The time is the morning following the battle of Bunker Hill. Almost overcome by fear and worry, Clarissa, a country woman of near Boston, awaits some report of the engagement and the return of her husband, son, and brother. Finally a neighbor who has seen all approaches; he recounts the events clearly and touchingly; he can scarcely muster courage to break the news of her triple loss. Reading the sad message in his countenance, the bereaved matron sinks to the floor unconscious, and refuses to be comforted except by the thought that her loved ones have fallen as "martyrs of liberty." The neighbor, witnessing this sorrow, can no longer repress his feeling, but bursts forth in rage against the British, branding their general as a murderer.

4. Man of Affairs Characters

Mr. Lyndall (vain, ambitious, unscrupulous Boston merchant), Bidwell, "The Mercenary Match" (1785?).

5. Fashionable Society Characters

The fashionable characters of Revolutionary times, as found in the dramatic pieces, are far more than mere idealizations, and in many instances exhibit unmistakably natural traits. As compared with similar characters in the Provincial plays, the number is proportionately larger. Thus, in the Revolutionary drama we see suggested both the nature and the growth of the leisure class.

a. The Beau

Mrs. Warren's polemical farce, "The Group" (1775), contains several persons of fashionable pretention that have been alluded to

[20] See Bancroft, *Hist. of U. S.*, V:199.

in previous sections.[21] One, however, belongs more properly here. This is the stylish Beau Trumps, identified as "foppish Daniel Leonard," [22] He is not an avowed enemy to freedom, but prefers Tory society on account of the emphasis it gives to pomp, titles, and fine dress. The beau, furthermore, likes himself and his reputation too well to indulge extensively in patriotic sentiment.

Other Beau Characters

Major Shapely (intriguing gallant), Bidwell, "The Mercenary Match" (1785?).

b. The Lady

Lady Gates in "The Battle of Brooklyn" (1776) is a typical Boston society dame of the day. She enjoys nothing better than a piece of scandal, and contributes her due part in circulating defamatory tales about Washington. She sees little in the general to admire, calls him "a little-minded barbarian" to suffer the arts to be trampled, in the case of the king's statue, and looks upon the Patriot régime as "republican Tyrants and Smugglers in power."

The Boston society set of 1779 is responsible for several characters that appear in "The Motley Assembly" (1779). Mrs. Flourish (Mrs. Deblois) is a vain, hypocritical scandal-monger, who turns to herself for consummate refinement. A Patriot to her is only a species of rational animal; she opines that "Mr. Washington, or General Washington, if you please, is a very honest, good kind of man . . . . but doubtless there are his equals—so say no more" (p. 15); for the French allies she manifests a deep-seated hatred and contempt. Miss Flourish (Miss Deblois), the daughter, reflects faithfully her rearing among the *ton;* fashion and beaux are the topics of her conversation; she cries to go to the "assembly," for it is such a pleasure to make remarks about those present!

Mrs. Taxall and her daughter (Mrs. and Miss Sheaffe), in the same play, represent variations of the type. The mother is a lady of "taste and fashion," principally because she herself says so; it is positively stooping, she declares, to work before necessity drives one to it; no small part of her daily anxiety is the successful management of her daughter's courtship. Once Miss Taxall was attracted by a "Yankee spark," but having come to Boston in the brilliant days of the siege soon decided to ignore her rustic acquaintances. Being extremely light and fickle, she has some ludicrous

[21] See Military and Political characters.
[22] See Tyler, A, II:195.

ideas, a fair example of which is: Since fashionable daughters dare not work or be useful, it is no less than an insult to be invited to do sewing for the half-naked Patriot troops.

Mrs. Bubble (Mrs. Swan), as presented in "The Motley Assembly," is a social "dragon-fly." Airy, whimsical, and extravagant, she occupies most of her days with the problems of her wardrobe. She often purchases expensive gowns, just to keep her neighbors from getting them; it is on the subject of clothes-allowance that she has disagreements with her husband; the joy of outdressing the Whigs explains her frequent presence in their hated company.

Other Lady Characters

Miss Doggrel (sighs vainly for a return of "the days of the siege") and Tab (Sal Sheaffe; being unattractive, fails to receive her due share, as she believes, of the young gallants' attention; insulted when asked to ply her needle for the ragged Patriot troops), Warren, "The Motley Assembly" (1779).

Mrs. Jenson (proud, short-sighted, vivacious young wife), Bidwell, "The Mercenary Match" (1785?).

c. Other Fashionable Society Characters

Two would-be fashionable women are presented in "The Blockheads" (1776). The first is Mrs. Jemima Simple, a refugee farmer's wife. In reality she is but a shallow, uncultured country woman and something of a scold; but since arriving in Boston she feels quite converted into a lady. She is now ashamed of her rough farmer-husband; scorns Yankee plainness and frankness, generally; refers to her forsaken farm-life as stupid drudgery; tries to assume city tastes and put on prudish airs; craves attention from the *élite* and the swaggering Redcoats; and, ere long, plans extensive European travels, where she can see manners to her heart's content.

The second *parvenue,* who exemplifies the silly, thoughtless, disobedient young woman, is the daughter, Miss Tabitha Simple. She no longer respects her father, looking upon him as an old fogy; with her maid's assistance she arranges clandestine meetings with Lord Dapper, whose flattery she accepts at face value; her single aspiration is to become a lady of the current quality, for then she can hope to win a husband of affluence and at the same time receive homage from the gay young fops.

6. Servant Characters

a. The White

Betty, Lady Gates's maid in "The Battle of Brooklyn" (1776) is a coarse, sordid, sensual woman who professes first-hand knowledge of General Washington's alleged profligacy. She refers to him as "a sweet, meek, melancholy, sighing gentleman." [23] Dorsa, a maidservant in "The Blockheads" (1776), is a low-motived refugee girl. She is ever ready to assist her mistress in collusions, is especially concerned about a "spark" for herself, and boasts of being well-informed in the tricks of gallantry.

Other White Servant Character

Pickle (cowardly servant who likes to prey on the country lasses), Munford, "The Patriots."

b. The Black

In "The Fall of British Tyranny" (1776) there appear a number of negro slaves, kidnaped by Lord Dunmore. They are very ignorant and credulous, and readily consent when promised release to try to kill their masters. These negroes might serve as specimens of the Revolutionary slave in a degraded state.[24]

7. Professional Characters

The principal examples of this class are Revolutionary parsons.

Ebenezer Snuffle, although appearing in the Tory farce of "The Battle of Brooklyn" (1776), seems after all notably true to the parsons of the day. He is a pompous chaplain in General Putnam's army, and prays earnestly for the success of what the Loyalists call unjust undertakings. He is hostile to the Episcopal clergy, and particularly bitter against the Quakers. To punish the latter for their disloyalty to the cause of independence, he hopes to fine, whip, imprison, and hang them.[25]

Other Professional Characters

Minister, "The Fall of British Tyranny" (1776).

Rev. Samuel Spring (fighting parson), Brackenridge, "The Death of General Montgomery" (1777).

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[23] See Ford, *The True George Washington*, 84-111.

[24] Ford thinks this the initial introduction of the negro as a dramatic character into American drama. A, 682.

[25] See Schouler, *Americans of 1776*, 239; Trevelyan, *The Amer. Rev.*, 303-18.

Conclusion

The realistic characters of our Revolutionary drama exhibit a vital, candid, and intensified realism. More specific observations are the following:

I

1. Characters that are drawn from American life appear in at least two-thirds of the eighteen or more recorded native plays between 1774 and 1787.

Bibliography I contains almost the entire list.

2. Of the pieces presenting realistic characters about five-sixths are based on the day's political conditions.

3. The predominant realistic characters belong to the military, the political, and the fashionable society groups.

The military and political groups are extensive and diversified.

The fashionable society characters are in a high degree reflective of actual conditions.

4. All the realistic characters possess a decided singleness of interest.

Regardless of private vocation, virtually all persons in the Revolutionary pieces are chiefly concerned about American independence as a political issue.

5. The realistic characters are animated and essentially authentic memorials of the leaders, opinions, moods, conditions, and events which form the principal substance of Revolutionary history.

6. In consequence of the satiric, polemic, and eulogistic attitudes of the authors, most of the characters of the Revolutionary pieces are made to speak with more than ordinary passion and conviction.

7. Before 1787 no satisfactory Yankee characters are presented.

Simple, a refugee farmer in Warren's "The Blockheads" (1776), resembles the Yankee in certain particulars.

8. Indian parts are absent from the Revolutionary plays.

II

The genuine Patriot characters seem to possess most of the essential elements of American nationality.

Some of the distinctive traits of modern Americans are independence and directness of action, bluntness of speech and quickness of decision; practicality, constant activity, and a disposition to tackle big problems; large emotions, easily wo sympathies, and a cheery, though not subtle, sense of humor.[26] It seems to me that the Patriot characters of the Revolutionary plays are in a significant degree differentiated by just such qualities.

III

The Revolutionary plays, more noticeably than those of any other epoch of our dramatic history, are circumscribed by time and local condition. Almost in no sense do they possess the qualities of universal appeal.

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[26] Cf. Moses, *The Amer. Dramatist*, 23; Fisher, *The Struggle for Amer. Independence*, I:23; Muensterberg, *The Americans*.

PART II

PART II

THE REALISTIC PRESENTATION OF AMERICAN CHARACTERS IN THE NATIVE AMERICAN PLAYS OF THE PERIOD OF EXPERIMENT AND DEPENDENCE 1787-1815

Along with the triumphant issue of the Revolution, the making of the new Constitution, and the return of the strife-wearied citizens to peaceful pursuits there came a revival of professional theatrical activity in the new republic [1] as well as a somewhat serious attempt to discover its dramatic tastes and, if possible, to create for it a dignified dramatic literature. One of the earliest signs of advancement in the latter direction was the successful presentation of Royall Tyler's Yankee comedy of "The Contrast" (1787) [2].

The kindly reception accorded Tyler's comedy was in a large measure responsible for other original efforts which immediately followed. The most important of these were the early plays of William Dunlap. This enthusiastic author became after a few years the leading playwright and theater manager of the United States, and because of his high purposed endeavors and actual accomplishments has since been referred to as the "father of American drama." By a long series of diversified experiments in native play writing and production, in the midst of circumstances that were only too real, he more than any other discovered for his contemporaries and successors the inevitable servile course which native drama was destined for many years to follow.

The theater in America throughout this period experienced a salutary growth and for the first time began to exert marked influence upon native drama, Boston, Philadelphia, and New York erected splendid structures, while most of the smaller cities maintained houses adequate to their needs. The leading actors and actresses were all from Europe.

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[1] See Seilhamer, II and III.

[2] See Seilhamer, II:215; 225-39.

Though the American public grew more and more suspicious of home-made plays, the thirty years following 1787 brought forth numerous pieces on a wide variety of subjects. Some dealt with history, both foreign and American; a large number were of the fictive or romantic stamp; and not a few undertook to treat certain phases of political and social life as it was then found in America. This motley body of plays appeared in the form of translations, adaptations, or original compositions that were more or less imitative. Foreign domination was now in full force,—although it has ever since made itself felt,—and as the master dramatist all eyes turned to Kotzebue, who excelled not in literary drama but in ingenious theatrical plots. Such dependence, however, is less censurable when we recall that England with all her wealth of drama was doing the very same thing. Furthermore, since the dramatic child, like any other, must creep before it can walk, these early years of unoriginality and amateurish effort may be more easily accepted as a matter of course.

The servility of American authors to the playwrights of Europe continued to be marked until after the Civil War, although during the forty years leading up to 1860, even under the constant foreign influence, there appeared with increasing frequency American plays which exhibit something of the craftsmanship and creative conception of real masters. This means that the beginning of more constructive American play writing, and hence of a new historical period, may be said to date from the conclusion of the War of 1812. During our Second War for Independence interest in native drama must have been slight, if we may judge from the character and number of American plays that were then written. Between 1810 and 1815 there was a greater lull in native play production than had occurred in any five years of the previous twenty, or has ever occurred in the same length of time since.[3] But following the cessation of hostilities, early in 1815, after the United States had re-established itself before the world and had entered upon an era of national awakening, the theater and drama of America began to rise to higher levels and as never before received the support of the more intellectual classes of our citizenship. All the greatest English actors paid visits to our shores, John Howard Payne and a few other native playwrights were producing pieces of no mean order, and the so-called "native American movement,"

[3] See Part I, Chap. I, Conclusion, note 1.

which kept under headway till the Civil War, was beginning to include the drama as well as everything else that ingenious, self-confident Yankees believed they were capable of.

In view of the foregoing observations, therefore, I have taken the year 1815 [4] as marking the close of a period of experiment and dependence in the rise of American drama, and at the same time as indicating the beginning of a period of development and partial independence—the latter also never free of course from obvious unoriginality.

The period of experiment and dependence in native play writing may be conveniently subdivided into three parts. The first subperiod, embracing the plays written between 1787 and 1796, I have called the first decade of native drama under significant theatrical influence; the second, extending from 1796 to 1805, includes the native plays of the Dunlap decade of managership; and the third, covering the ten years between 1805 and 1815, contains the native dramatic pieces of what seems to be a decade of comparative passivity in American drama. To each of these subperiods a chapter has been given, showing in detail the realistic American characters in the plays of the time.

[4] Professor A. H. Quinn in a paper entitled "A Proposed Classification of the Periods in the Development of the American Drama," prepared for the Modern Language Association 1914, prefers the year 1829 as the beginning of "the first creative period." I am inclined to believe, however, that a close examination of the plays of the time will reveal evidences of significant creative production during the ten or twelve years preceding 1829, the date of the production of "Metamora."

CHAPTER I

REALISTIC CHARACTERS IN AMERICAN PLAYS WRITTEN BETWEEN 1787 AND 1796

The First Decade of Native Drama Under Significant Theatrical Influence

On April 16, 1787, the Hallam and Henry company produced for the first time at the John Street Theatre, New York, Royall Tyler's comedy of "The Contrast." [1] Although this was neither the first [2] native play that had been acted by professional comedians nor the first that bore obvious markings of Cisatlantic life and manners,[3] it was the earliest production of an American play into which had been introduced an acting character, distinctive, national, and vital, not drawn from the imagination or the current list of stock dramatic types but reproduced fundamentally from the very substance of American civilization. This character was Jonathan, the Yankee "waiter," who bore the essential marks that have ever since distinguished stage-Yankees. Hence, it seems consistent to consider "The Contrast" as the first specimen of American drama that suggests a native species of play.

The success of Tyler's comedy encouraged other native authors, the most noteworthy among whom was William Dunlap. Within a few months he wrote "The Modest Soldier" but failed to secure its production. He then composed a stronger comedy, entitled "The Father," which was promptly brought out in 1789. In various quarters American dramatic pieces were beginning to appear, the best playwrights of the time being, besides Tyler (1758-1826) and Dunlap (1766-1839), Samuel Low and Mrs. Susanna Rowson (1762-1824). Belonging to the decade beginning with 1787 more than thirty original native plays are recorded, of which fully three-fourths were either presented on the professional stage or written with sanguine hope of production.

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[1] See Seilhamer, II:215.

[2] Godfrey's "The Prince of Parthia" had been performed twenty years earlier by the Douglass company, a troupe of professional comedians. See Ford, A, 679.

[3] See plays discussed in the two preceding chapters.

With the presentation of "The Contrast" American drama may be said to have come under significant theatrical influence. Theaters were now well established in all the larger cities of the Atlantic seaboard,[4] even puritanic Boston yielding in 1792.[5] Companies of talented actors were increasing,[4] and their managers seemed not unwilling to consider meritorious native pieces, with a view to acting. These conditions were not so true of the preceding period. Out of forty or more plays written prior to 1787 less than a half-dozen were produced, or intended for production, on the regular stage, although two-thirds of the number seem to have been given by amateurs. The truth is, the American drama and the American theater were now being more and more united,[6] and each was undergoing a stage of definite development. It is not improbable that the fair outlook partly induced the playwright, Dunlap, to turn manager.

William Dunlap became joint-manager of the John Street Theatre, early in 1796.[7] This was the beginning of nearly a decade of trying and eventful experience. For seven years, up to 1805, he was sole director of the Park Theatre, New York,[8] which was then the leading metropolitan theater of the United States. This managership was of sufficient importance in the rise of American drama to entitle it to separate treatment.

1. Yankee Characters

In Jonathan, the Yankee "waiter" in "The Contrast" (1787), we make the acquaintance of the original of a long succession of stage-Yankees that were so excellently played in the theaters of antebellum days by comedians of the quality of Hill and Hackett. In the earlier plays I can recall but a single character that tends to anticipate Jonathan: this is Simple,[9] a farmer-refugee in "The Blockheads" (1776). Simple is drawn as a raw countryman who speaks in coarse language and has no use for manners and style; he is characteristically stingy, and has a great deal more sense than his name indicates. But the purpose of the characterization in that case is to show the ill fortune of the country-refugee rather than

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[4] See Seilhamer, III.
[5] *Ibid.*, III:19-20; Clapp, 7.
[6] See Dunlap, 71.
[7] *Ibid.*, 148.
[8] *Ibid.*, 226; 232.
[9] See Part I, Chap. II, Sec. 3, a.

to exhibit an individual type of American. Therefore, for the true Yankee type, farmer Simple may be disregarded.

Tyler's Jonathan, as far as fundamental traits are concerned, seems to reproduce the substantial New Englander with an approach to fidelity. He has an original and homely but good humor, an independent air, a large quantity of that rare commodity called common sense, a very special concern about his material goods, and a puritanic morality such as turned ever to the meeting-house and shunned the theater as the abode of Satan himself.

Jonathan proves that he is "a true-born Yankee American son of liberty" by singing "Yankee Doodle" for Jenny, his new city acquaintance. This is said to be the earliest use of the *text* for dramatic purposes.[10] His peculiar speech appears in such expressions as "tarnation," "dang it," "gor," "buss," "tarnal," "spark it," "I vow," "I swear," "swamp it," "out in doors," "like the nation," "marcy on my soul," "smite my timbers," and "pretty considerably glad." He shows the same propensity in his affairs of the heart as have nearly all the stage-Yankees since his time: all of them with hardly an exception fall madly in love at first sight, and within a few minutes after getting acquainted wish to "buss" and embrace the "gal." In this play, as is usually true, Jonathan is by no means scorned but laughed at in a friendly way. Below I give part of his account of a visit to the John Street Theatre where he thought he was merely at "the place where they played hocus pocus":

JONATHAN. So I went right in, and they showed me away clean up to the garret, just like a meeting-house gallery. And so I saw a power of topping folks, all sitting around in little cabins just like father's corn-crib, and then there was such a squeaking of the fiddles, and such a tarnal blaze with the lights, my head was near turned. At length the people that sat near me set up such a hissing—hiss—like so many mad cats, and then they went thump, thump, thump, just like our Peleg thrashing wheat, and stampt away just like the nation, and called out for one Mr. Langolee—I suppose he helps act the tricks.

JENNY. Well, and what did you do all this time?

JONATHAN. Gor, I—I liked the fun, and so thumpt away, and hissed as lustily as the best of them. One sailor-looking man that sat by me, seeing me stamp, and knowing I was a cute fellow, because I could make a roaring noise, clapped me on the shoulder and said, "You are a damned hearty cock, smite my timbers." I told him so I was, but he needn't swear so and make use of such wicked words.

Upon learning that he had been at the theater he exclaims:

Marcy on my soul! Did I see the wicked players? Mayhaps that 'ere Darby, that I liked so, was the old serpent himself, and had his cloven foot in his pocket. Why I vow, now I come to think on't, the candles seemed to burn blue, and I'm sure, where I sat, it smelt tarnally of brimstone. (Act III, Sc. 1.)

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[10] The *tune* of Yankee Doodle first found native dramatic use in the fourth song introduced into "The Disappointment" (1767).

In 1788 Samuel Low presented the managers of the John Street Theatre a superior comedy of manners called "The Politician Out-Witted." This play contains two characters of the Yankee type, the more important of which is a farmer named Humphry Cubb. He is just as awkward, droll, and shrewd as Tyler's Jonathan, and does not differ essentially from him. Cubb is a talkative fellow, is addicted to the quoting of proverbs (which he usually concludes with the remark, "as the old saying is"), and uses such words and phrases as "worser," "sartin," and "I never larnt to cypher." He will not take pay for an accommodation, seldom refuses the offer of a glass of ale, presents his sweetheart with a ribbon when he calls, and pays little attention to style and dress, buying his own "cloathes" at the "vendue option." He does not "keep up" on politics especially, nor does he understand the full import of the new Constitution that is now before the state for adoption. In general, Low uses caricature more broadly than Tyler, but, it seems, without any greater intention of offence.

Other Yankee Characters

Yankee Servant, Dunlap, "The Modest Soldier" (1787).

Dolly (country girl who has come to New York, to hire out as a domestic), Low, "The Politician Out-Witted" (1788).

Susannah (pretty, vivacious, but small-minded house-maid), Dunlap, "The Father" (1788).

Yorick (true-blue Yankee Federalist), "The Better Sort" (1789).

As we review these earliest examples of the Yankee type the question arises: have we here merely a new comedy clown for the native stage, such a person as never existed in any land, or an animated creature of flesh and blood, a specimen of distinctive American life, reproduced with obvious exaggeration but at the same time with many of the fundamental traits of Yankee nature? The answer to this question must lie in a comparison of the stage-type with that citizen of substantial worth [11] who for nearly a century and a half has been one of the strong pillars of our republic. Such a comparison, I am disposed to think, tends to show that the second opinion above given is more nearly correct.

2. Indian Characters

The Indian, as yet, is a negligible character in native dramatic writing, for during the decade following 1787 there seems to have appeared but a single noteworthy piece introducing such a type. This was a serious opera, entitled "Tammany; or, The Indian

[11] See Fisher, *The Struggle for Amer. Independence*, I:22-24.

Chief," by Mrs. Ann Julia Hatton. It was written for the Tammany Society and performed at the John Street Theatre, New York, 1794. Only songs from the piece have been published.[12]

3. Political Characters

Realistic political characters are found in more than one-third of the native plays of this decade, and authentically remind us of the day's principal events and issues.

a. The Public Official

Watchman, Murdock, "The Triumphs of Love" (1795).

b. The Patriotic Citizen

The use of the heading, Patriotic Citizen, does not imply that citizens not herein included are unpatriotic. It refers to that type of citizen, met on every hand, who makes his country's welfare, whether real or supposed, one of his chief interests and seldom fails to give voice to his opinions, both in and out of season. This type, as seen after the Revolution, is not especially partisan but decidedly patriotic and individually concerned about the qualities of good citizenship, the best means of promoting such, and the avoidance of numerous dangers which threaten the young republic.

A fair example of patriotic citizen is Colonel Manley in "The Contrast" (1787). Although somewhat idealized, in most respects he evinces the traits of a sober-minded American. He stands for morality, honor, and justice, occupies his mind with noble sentiments, and is willing for self-sacrifices in services to his country. He cautions against the dangers of luxury, opposes acts of intrigue, and generally condemns the all too prevalent imitation of Europe; for instance, he says:

> In America the cry is, What is the fashion? and we follow it indiscriminately, because it is so. (Act II, Sc. 1.)

For dueling he feels no tolerance, for he considers such an institution un-American. Again he sounds an American note when he mentions the customs and ideals that predominate among his countrymen:

> In our country the affections are not sacrificed to riches or family-aggrandizement: . . . . my family is decent, and my rank honorable. (Act IV, Sc. 2.)

Mr. Sententious in "The Better Sort" (1789) is a man of good sense, but a trifle sentimental. His wife wishes to become a lady

[12] See Wegelin, 50.

after the English fashion, but Mr. S. has grave doubts. He expatiates, though vainly, on the virtues of plainness, economy, and prudence, tries to inculcate higher ideals than those of the self-styled "better sort," and entertains a strong desire to dissuade the town ladies from their foreign tastes. He is loyal to his government, and believes in the wholesome influence on the people of native literature:

I have now by me "General Montgomery," "The Battle of the Kegs," "Freneau's Poems" and many others that were favorites with the Continental soldiers, and no doubt contributed as much to encourage them to endure hardships and persevere in the struggle, as paper money.

"The Triumphs of Love" (1795) contains an extremely patriotic citizen in the character of Major Manly. He says:

I glory in being an enthusiast in the cause of liberty and my country; and esteem it the most fortunate circumstance of my life that I have been instrumental in effecting a revolution which has given freedom to millions living, and will secure it to millions yet unborn. . . . . A great majority of the citizens of the United States are sufficiently enlightened to judge for themselves; they will not be led away or imposed upon by designing men . . . . ; they, I trust, set a just value upon one of the best constitutions, that ever was framed for the government of man. (pp. 16-17.)

When it is announced "that the people to the westward (whiskey-distillers of Pennsylvania) are in arms against the laws of government," the major's brother-in-law remarks:

Burning and destroying private property—that is but a trifle for your liberty boys.

MAJOR MANLY. (Walking in a passion.) Anarchy boys, rather say! The genuine sons of liberty will never disgrace themselves by such conduct, but will ever be obedient to the laws. . . . . Never had mortals less cause to complain than the people of the United States. In no age, nor in any country, was ever human nature in so dignified a state, as in ours. View our Congress assembled. See the representatives of an extensive empire, clothed with the people's power, devising for the general good! But there is this to be observed: It is vain for them to legislate, if this fundamental principle is not sacredly adhered to, that what the majority determine upon shall be the law of the land. . . . . If that principle is kept alive, I will be bold to defy either the intrigues of foreign courts or the conclave-machinations of our own citizens, to prevail against it. (p. 57.)

Other Patriotic Citizen Characters

Colonel Duncan (officer who gained distinction in the Revolution and is proud of it), Dunlap, "The Father" (1788).

Harriet (serious-minded American woman; reason is the directing force of her life; solid worth as opposed to sham and a fine exterior, her ideal), Low, "The Politician Outwitted" (1788).

c. The Politician

The early American politician, as found in the post-Revolutionary plays, is not wholly devoted to politics, but usually amid private interests shows a special solicitude concerning the status of his government. Since this was the decade of the adoption of the new Constitution, it is to be expected that contemporary plays will reflect prevailing opinions on the subject.

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The first specimen that we shall examine is a zealous Federalist named Trueman, who appears in "The Politician Out-Witted." Trueman is a somewhat pompous schoolmaster. He considers himself an erudite scholar, uses long, big-worded sentences interspersed with Latin phrases, and by repeated reference to grammar, logic, mathematics, and teaching-experience leaves no doubt as to his pedagogical nature. But above all, at the present hour, he is a Federalist and a steadfast advocate of the new Constitution.[13] This, he declares, is "a prodigy of legislative wisdom"; the whole system is "judicious and salutary," and when set up beside the old Articles of Confederation it makes them look like "a very shadow of government" and not so good as a school-boy might do. Although fortune-broken by the late war, he feels no disposition to waver, and is anxious for the protection of the "new roof," which requires but three more state-adoptions since Massachusetts, the sixth state, has recently signed.

In the same play there is presented a merchant, Old Loveyet, who is a champion of the Anti-Federalist opinion.[14] Such a man to-day would probably be called a "stand-pat old fogy," for he insists that the old régime is good enough for him. He is so much prejudiced that he will neither read nor hear the Federalist side of the question, and in arguments becomes angry and intolerant. He declares that he has no desire for representation in a national House, and that he is growing tired of the discussions on every hand. To him the new Constitution is both "tyrannical and villainous," and "a devilish design upon liberty and property" that will "reduce to poverty and slavery." If adopted, he can foresee national "consolidation and annihilation of the states."

Other Politician Characters

Peter Lovemuch (having been "a true Whig of '76," he will now be a "staunch Federalist of '89"), "The Better Sort" (1789).

4. Man of Affairs Characters

The playwrights of this time, in their presentation of business men, seem to have aimed at fictitious characters rather than exact copies of living persons. There is only now and then a realistic touch.

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[13] See Hart, *The Amer. Nation*, X:277-97.
[14] See Hart, *The Amer. Nation*, X:277-97.

Mr. Racket, a reckless husband in "The Father" (1788), represents one kind of business man. At the beginning of the play he remarks:

> Well, this drinking is not the thing for a sober citizen; half-past eleven o'clock by all that's indolent, and my store not open yet.

Occasionally he concludes that the weather is too bad for business, leaves his shop closed, and lets his customers call another time. He remains away from his wife and home as much as possible, for neither is to his liking. Serious people bore him unspeakably. He looks after himself primarily, gets irritated upon small provocation, flirts and carouses without scruple, visits the theater without his wife's company, and is going headlong to ruin. An unextinguished spark of honor finally saves him.

Alonzo Hazard in "The Better Sort" (1789) represents a usurer and miser that keeps always alert so that he may not miss "the main chance." Principal and interest are his gods. Although in his dotage, he is anxious to marry a new fortune. He thinks money the true object in courtship, and calls love but "fol de rol."

Other Man of Affairs Character

Vanrough (stern, material-minded, conservative business man), Tyler, "The Contrast" (1787).

5. Fashionable Society Characters

Fashionable characters appear in most of the plays of this decade, which treat native themes, but more closely resemble stock characters than like types of the Revolutionary pieces.

a. The Beau

The beau of the late eighteenth century usually combines two individuals: the fop, who is superficial and showy, and the rake, who is devoted to sensual pleasures.

"The Politician Out-Witted" (1788) contains two fops of the current variety. Frankston is referred to as a "lad of spirit" falsely called "a ladies' man." He swaggers, struts, and flatters; "chatters, whispers, titters," and shows his white teeth in the theater-box; with extravagance of manner "extols in rapturous strains"; is addicted to the use of French phrases; occupies his mind with designs of conquests; is easily made jealous, and in short is "the very *moral* of our Tory." Dick Worthnough is but an intensified Frankston. He is a coxcomb, puppy, and profane rake; he "titters, capers, vows, and bows"; he talks scraps of French, sings amorous

lays, wears "silk-satin breeches, lily-white gloves" and goes with "crimp'd up toes and powder'd calabash."

Trueman, ardent Federalist of the play,[15] perhaps throws some light on local conditions. He says:

> The manners of the present age are so dissolute that the young fellows of these degenerate days think they can not be fine gentlemen without being rakes, and, in short, rascals; for they make a merit even of debauching innocence; indeed, that is scarcely to be wondered at, when so many of those who are called ladies of taste and fashion, strange as it may seem, like them the better. (p. 46.)

Other Beau Characters

Fop ("such as fops then were in New York"[16]), Dunlap, "The Modest Soldier" (1787).

Dimple (beau of the time; after a trip abroad, despises all things American), Tyler, "The Contrast" (1787).

Harcourt ("puppy"), Sidney (roué society husband), and Turncoat (rake who screens Sidney, because the latter renders him like services), "Occurrences of the Times" (1789).

Captain Flashet (coxcomb and braggart captain; "a soldier who has had the honor to serve under the great Washington; who escaped from the savages with half a dozen wounds, upon the tremendous fourth of November, and who hath since been principally concerned in quelling the whiskey insurrection"—p. 22), "Virtue Triumphant" (1795).

As a dramatic type, appearing in American plays of this decade, the beau is doubtless imitated from contemporary English drama; yet, when the assigned characteristics are examined, there seems to be some evidence of actual representation. This statement applies likewise to the fashionable lady.

b. The Lady

Charlotte in "The Contrast" exemplifies the social "butterfly," being pretty, airy, and sprightly, and living mostly for self-admiration and to be gazed at by others. Her interests are dress, parties, and beaux, her ideals wealth and social position. She is fanciful, chatty, and coquettish, finds but ennui among the serious-minded, thanks heaven more for her comely foot than for her soul, and among the *ton* passes her days where she dresses, walks, and dances, lisps, languishes, and smiles. On the subject of matrimony she expresses these views: if privileged to spend his money, ride in his carriage, and bear his name, it is not at all necessary to love one's husband.

Letitia, in the same piece, is but a pale reflection of her friend Charlotte.

Maria Airy, as presented in "The Politician Out-Witted" (1788), seems to be typical and all that her name implies. Fundamentally, she resembles Charlotte in "The Contrast." She passes

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[15] See Sec. 3, c. of this chapter.

[16] Dunlap, 77.

her time, when not lounging at home, now at cards, dancing and visiting (the last with all formality and fashionable shortness); now making excursions on Long Island, or sailing on East River; now walking down Broadway to see, and be seen of, the beaux; now strolling on the Battery or the Mall. Moralizing she dreads as an attack of "the dumps," and "the sweets of domestic life" is but a sentiment to scoff at. At the theater she forgets to see the play because of the "lads of spirit" in the opposite box; she talks much nonsense to the play-votaries, and delights in making her adorers jealous.

Mrs. Sententious in "The Better Sort" represents the fashionable lady that is uneducated. Her philosophy is: if a woman have a fortune, let her enjoy it; and the best way seems to be to set up as one of "the better sort." Hence, she begins to imitate the splendor and extravagance about her; praises English taste and scorns American plainness; echoes abominably the remarks of her cultured friends; uses repartee, faints easily, and speaks bad French; reverently hears the decree of Dame Fashion, and takes issue with no one except her husband!

Other Lady Characters

Mrs. Racket (shallow society wife), Dunlap, "The Father" (1788).

Mrs. Sidney (vexed wife, who is not so likely to be disgraced by her husband's bad conduct as she imagines), "Occurrences of the Times" (1789).

Mrs. Augusta Bloomville (fashionable wife; "shop-hunting, visiting, cards, balls—these make up the routine of her life"; empties her purse at the milliner's; neglects her husband, but smiles at "every powdered puppy") and Miss Dorinda Scornwell (supercilious devotee of fashion; prefers "cards to conversation, a ride to a book, and the ball-room to the play-house"; relates the following to a friend:

I was last night at the assembly. . . . . At the very moment when I was on the point of securing my number, who should enter the ball-room but the very *enamorata* that I met at the New York assembly, drawn thither, undoubtedly, by my irresistible ladyship, and evidently improved in every fascinating grace. . . . . The Colonel never dances, so we enjoyed a most enchanting aside conversation, cut in at whist, came off victorious in the rubbers, and thus concluded a divine evening. (p. 39)—"Virtue Triumphant" (1795).

c. The American Girl

In recent years much has been written about the American girl as a distinctive native type. Among several traits of character one in particular is usually assigned: absolute personal independence as an ideal.[17]

Mira, who is the heroine of "The Better Sort" (1789), seems somewhat to anticipate the modern American girl. Her father wishes that she marry a wealthy old gentleman whom she posi-

[17] See *Nation*, 30:365; 417; *Living Age*, 116: 294.

tively hates: she would rather be tied to a whipping-post than wed the old miser! Mira wishes to be obedient and to hearken to good advice, but at the same time she feels the force of her soul. She prefers a youth of open, generous mind, believes that with her hand should go her heart, and maintains that "the girl of spirit" has the natural right to dispose of her affections as she pleases.

d. Other Fashionable Society Characters

Mr. Ralph Maitland (widower; deliberate and opinionated; "a lover of reason and friend of equality"; wears a periwig and carries a snuffbox; expecting a business visit from a widow, he thus directs his servant:

And, d'ye hear, throw open the shutters in the best parlour, set the new vases in order, let them be furnished with fresh flowers; run for Frize, the barber, and let my razors, powder, and perfume-box be all ranged in my dressing-room. (p. 19).—"Virtue Triumphant" (1795).

6. Servant Characters

a. The White

"Virtue Triumphant" contains three serving women that are drawn partly from life. Deborah likes her mistress, but is disposed to scold the other servants. Jenny is an ignorant, prying Yankee girl, who claims that in Europe there is a "Gluttoner" that chops off heads and "is so greedy as to swallow a thousand heads for a breakfast." Molly represents a dissatisfied hired-girl, evidently from the country:

I never was in such a place in all my born days—so many mistresses—I' fackins! I wishes I was at home, milking my cows again, so I does. . . . . I'm resolv'd I gives Madam warning before to-morrow night—getting up by break of day in the morning, sitting up till midnight, cleaning here and running there one has not a moment's quiet—and I gets nothing by it after all, only four dirty shillings a week, while Mrs. Gadabout's Susan has a whole dollar, only for dressing her mistress's false hair. . . . . I'll not stay here, so I won't. (pp. 34-35.)

b. The Black

In Murdock's "The Triumphs of Love," which was acted at the New Theatre, Philadelphia, 1795, there is presented a scene in which a large-souled master, George Friendly, Jr., sets at liberty his negro servant, Sambo. This scene is intended as a protest against slavery, and is probably the first use of American drama to serve the cause of the abolitionist. A portion of the scene is given below:

SAMBO. (Who goes and views himself in the glass.) Sambo, what a gal call a pretty fellow. Dis wool of mine will curlee up so, can't get him straight—dat all de fashion among gemmen. Sambo tinks himself handsome. He berry 'complish'd, too: he sing well; he dance well; he play fiddle well. Can tink so, so, pretty well. He tink—he berry often tink why he slave to white man; why black folke sold like cow or horse. He tink de Great Somebody above no order tings so. (Exit.)

G. FRIENDLY, Jr. (Who has overheard Sambo: alone.) Be softened as thou wilt, still, slavery, thy condition is hard. The untutored, pathetic soliloquy of that honest creature has

more sensibly affected me than all I have read or thought on that barbarous, iniquitous slave-trade; and yet how many thousands of the poorer class of whites are there, whose actual situation is vastly inferior to his: he has no anxious cares for to-morrow, no family looking up to him for protection, no duns at his door. Yet, still, still there is something wanting. It is cruel. It is unjust for one creature to hold another in a state of bondage for life. Sambo, thou shalt be free. (Re-enter Sambo.) Sambo, suppose you had your liberty; how would you conduct yourself?

SAMBO. Ah, Massa George, you no ax Sambo dat for true.

G. FRIENDLY, JR. Yes, Sambo, I do; and from this moment you are free. You may remain with me upon wages, or go where you may think yourself more happy.

SAMBO. (In a reverie—then becomes extremely elated; jumps about; kisses the skirt of his master's coat; kisses his hand.) O Massa George, I feel how I neber feel before. God bress you. (Cries.) I must go, or my heart burst. (Exit.)

G. FRIENDLY, JR. Tell me, ye sensualists, what are all your luxurious gratifications, compared with the exalted mental sensations of doing a generous act? Would to heaven I could as easily liberate our fellow-citizens, who are slaves in Algiers. (pp. 51-53.)

7. Professional Characters

A doctor who is somewhat more than a fictitious person appears in Dunlap's "The Father" (1788). His name is Doctor Quiescent, and to such a person we often apply the name crank. In his own estimation he is "a young man of character, scientific, philosophic, versed in the languages, high in his profession, profound in his meditations, deep in his cogitations" (Act III). He speaks in technical language, and uses circumlocution and dignified phrases for commonplace ideas. He feels some distinction in that he is a traveled American; to his student-days, and to his patients and treatments he likes to refer; he rails bitterly against "the old women's remedies," and his singular cases he intends to publish in the American magazine. Among his associates he is shunned on account of his tiresome ways.

Other Professional Characters

Dr. Harrangue (gives advice freely, but seldom follows it himself; interferes with all community affairs, because he believes it a good citizen's duty; known as a man who at times never agrees with anybody), "Occurrences of the Times" (1789).

Conclusion

The realistic presentation of American characters in native plays written between 1787 and 1796 is as follows:

I

1. Characters of significant American stamp are found in more than one-third of the some thirty-five recorded native plays of this decade.

Bibliography I includes all the noteworthy pieces.

2. The characters with realistic qualities appear partly in historical plays and partly in pieces of high and low comedy, usually of a certain political significance.

3. Most of the realistic characters reflect a certain interest in, or attitude toward, the day's political affairs and good American citizenship.

See, for examples, Cubb and Yorick (1), Col. Manley, Sententious, Maj. Manly, Trueman, and Loveyet (3), Dimple, Mrs. Sententious, and Mira (5), Sambo (6), and still others in the various sections of this chapter.

4. The leading groups of realistic characters are the Yankee, the political, and the fashionable society.

The native Yankee, caricatured but in many respects true to life, was first introduced into dramatic writing during this decade. The type appears in four or more different plays within two years after its original introduction in "The Contrast" (1787), but is seldom found in American plays of the next eighteen years.

Political types are found in more than one-third of the plays, and remind us authentically of the day's principal events and issues.

The fashionable society types seem to be imitated from contemporary English drama, although they frequently show attempts at the realistic portrayal of native characters.

5. Indian characters are as yet negligible.

6. Characters that are obviously realistic occur somewhat infrequently in the typical theatrical plays.

Of some twenty stage-plays, which give chief attention to a gripping, romantic plot, only about one-fourth contain native characters of realistic importance. These are "The Contrast," "The Modest Soldier" (in MS), "The Father," "The Triumphs of Love," and one or two others in manuscript.

On the other hand, the plays containing some of the best examples of realism are less suited to acting; e.g., "The Politician Out-Witted," "The Better Sort," and "Occurrences of the Times."

II

A distinctively national American type, the Yankee, first finds dramatic use in this decade.

The Yankee as a citizen, and in no small measure as a dramatic type, embodies the majority of the elements of American nationality as they were suggested in the conclusion to Chapter II, Part I.

The political types, also, seem to be accurately reflective of the patriotic phase of American nationality.

See Section 3, b and c.

III

As a group, the plays of this time containing American characters possess greater breadth of appeal than those of the Revolutionary epoch, yet not sufficient merit to perpetuate them.

Partial exceptions are Tyler's "The Contrast" (1787) and Dunlap's "The Father" (1788) both of which were republished by the Dunlap Society in 1887. Their importance, however, lies principally in their significance to the dramatic historian.

CHAPTER II

REALISTIC CHARACTERS IN AMERICAN PLAYS WRITTEN BETWEEN 1796 AND 1805

The Dunlap Decade of Managership

In May, 1796,[1] William Dunlap (1766-1839) of New York City, having for twelve years taken an interest in dramatic activity of a higher order and having himself written and adapted more than a half-dozen somewhat successful plays, became associated with Messrs. Hallam and Hodgkinson as joint-manager of the John Street Theatre, New York, which was then the leading theater of the country. Dunlap was induced to undertake the management of "that powerful and complicated engine, the theatre of a great metropolis"—a task for which he confesses he was ill fitted [2]—for the following reasons: first, an opportunity would be afforded to bring out his own plays; secondly, there were, he imagined, fair prospects of wealth; thirdly, "the control of the stage in a large portion of the continent" was desirable authority; and, finally, the enthusiastic dramatist believed he could be of service to his country, for he aspired to dignify American drama and even, it would seem, maintain a theater that should "be a school of morality, of patriotism, and of every virtue; the glory of the fine arts and the delight of the wise and good." [3]

The playwright industriously followed the career of joint-manager and manager for ten seasons, the last seven of which he directed the Park Theatre of New York, the successor of the John Street house built in 1767.[4] During his decade of managership, in spite of ceaseless dissensions among his players and a long train of discouragements due to epidemics of yellow fever, indifferent public support, bad internal organization, and eventually broken health,[5] the author-manager wrote and adapted and had produced

[1] See Dunlap, 148-49.
[2] *Ibid.*, 247.
[3] *Ibid.*, 276.
[4] See Dunlap, 218.
[5] *Ibid.*, 326.

more than a half-hundred plays, many of which exhibit special dramatic talent. In 1805 he retired from the management of the Park Theatre, a bankrupt; five years later he was again connected with it, but this time for a few months only.[6] For several years he continued to write and adapt plays for the theaters of New York.

Dunlap is known as the "father of American drama," [7] and his claim to the distinction can hardly be disputed. He was the first American who earnestly tried to cultivate among his countrymen a taste for genuine drama, and the first American author who persistently essayed the writing of plays [8] which were successfully staged and in a few instances received with a semblance of satisfaction in the closet. He has been called "our first dramatic manipulator; he was the first theater manager to illustrate how readily foreign materials might be turned to American advantage, without costing much." [9] He might also be spoken of as our first dramatic experimenter, for in order to gain public approbation he tried original composition, the imitation of foreign models, translation, and adaptation, and left to his successors reliable information as to what kind of plays the American public demanded. We know further that from the time of his connection with the New York theater, both as author and manager, American drama underwent a course of upward—though, to be sure, gradual—development.

Between 1796 and 1805 native theaters kept increasing in number, and began to be better constructed and better furnished. The finest theaters of the time were "the Federal, in Boston, opened February 3, 1794; the Chestnut, in Philadelphia, opened February 17, 1794, and the Park, in New York, opened January 29, 1798," [10] although there were adequate houses at Albany, Annapolis, Baltimore, Charleston, Providence, Washington, and other places. All the influential actors of the decade came from England, the three foremost of whom were John Hodgkinson (1765-1805), James Fennell (1776-1816), and Thomas Cooper (1776-1840),[11] each exemplifying the Kemble style of acting. Among the abler American dramatic authors, after Dunlap, should be named John Daly Burk (1776-1808), David Everett (1770-1813), Charles

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[6] *Ibid.*, 361.
[7] See Moses, 48.
[8] See Seilhamer, II:273.
[9] Moses, 47.
[10] See Winter, A, 16.
[11] *Ibid.*, 16-31.

Jared Ingersol (1782-1862), and Elihu Hubbard Smith (1771-1798). During these years a more or less tentative effort in native drama and a general dependence upon foreign models are to be noticed.

1. Yankee Characters

The comedy of "The Traveller Returned" (1796) contains an exaggerated Yankee servant in the character of Obadiah. He is represented as a raw country fellow, who habitually uses such expressions as "nation," "I swamp it," and "adds rabbit me." The following scene with the housemaid is typical:

OBADIAH. Oh! tarnation, tarnation, tarnation!

BRIDGET. Are you mad? (Shaking him violently.) Tell me what ails you, I say.

OBADIAH. Oh! I have broke—I have broke—I can't speak it——.

BRIDGET. Broke what?

OBADIAH. I have broke—I have broke th—the—the—what d'ye call it— . . . . .

BRIDGET. The—the—the—what d'ye call it! Now what the plague do you mean, Obadiah?

OBADIAH. Why, that there glass thing, Bridget, by which folks find out when we should be cold and when we should be warm.

BRIDGET. I'll be hang'd, Obadiah, if you don't mean the thermometer.

OBADIAH. Yes, Bridget, it is the 'mometer, the 'mometer; the worse luck mine! Yes, yes, it is the 'mometer, sure enough.

BRIDGET. Why, don't take on so, man; my mistress is a good, kind lady, and never faults people for trifles and accidents, and the like of that. (p. 129.)

Other Yankee Character

Jonathan (of slight importance), Minshull, "Rural Felicity" (1801).

2. Indian Characters

Massasoit (humane, imaginative, grave sachem) and Tisquanto (friendly minor chief; of marked naiveté), Croswell, "A New World Planted" (1802).

There are three other unimportant Indian characters in the play. The nature and attitude of Tisquanto (above) are revealed in the following speech:

I run so fast that I am out of breath. I have been hunting on that high land, 'most to the clouds, that Indians call Munxhill—I heard a noise—I stopt and hear it more—'tis the war-whoop of Indian—I keep still and hear it louder sound—'tis certain war-whoop, and it moves this way—then I set out and run, to let you know. (p. 29.)

3. Frontier Characters

a. The Colonist

The historical play of the early nineteenth century, containing the colonist as a frontier type, necessarily reflects not the period of writing but a more remote time as conceived by the author. In "A New World Planted" (1802) colonists of the early seventeenth century are presented, but without special attempt at realism. We shall notice Governor Carver and Counselor Standish.

Carver thanks God for the asylum which the Pilgrims have found, and begins his administration with a feeling of hope. Soon, however, disorders arise:

> For now the Narragansetts threaten war
> And have sent their savage signal here—
> A bundle of their arrows, closely bound
> In the black skin of an enormous snake.
> What answer shall we send them, Brother Standish?

To which Standish replies:

> Send back the skin, charg'd well with ball and powder,
> And let the villains know we are prepared. (p. 14.)

When it is learned that Massasoit is coming to pay the English settlement a visit, Standish says:

> Our men must all parade in martial pride,
> Rending the air with trumpets and with drums;
> 'Twill give a grand idea of English tactics,
> And honor our great visitor and us. (p. 22.)

Of this Carver fully approves.

Governor Carver, upon concluding a treaty with Sachem Massasoit, says to Samoset, an interpreter:

> Desire the King to ratify the contract
> By making of his mark upon the treaty.
>
> (Samoset goes to Massasoit and talks in private. [They] then rise off the cushions, and come to the table. The Governor signs one of the contracts, and gives Massasoit the pen, and points to the place where he should make his mark, who accordingly does. The Governor then shakes hands with him, and takes a glass of wine and gives a toast, viz:)
>
> Long peace between the English of New Plymouth
> And our Ally, the great King Massasoit.
>
> (Samoset whispers to the King the explanation. Then Governor Carver hands him a glass of wine.)
>
> MASSASOIT. Wame nuckone nashpee, mosogheonk kah, wonnomit-tuoonk.
> SAMOSET. This is the Gov'rnor's toast in Indian words. (p. 24.)

Other Colonist Characters

Bradford (counselor to the Puritan governor), Lyford and Oldham (leaders of rebellion against the settlement), and Mrs. Standish, Mrs. Martin, and Mrs. White (colonial wives), Croswell, "A New World Planted" (1802).

4. Political Characters

Since the military characters in the plays of the Dunlap decade possess a significant political stamp, it has seemed best to include them in the political group.

Here again we are confronted by the historical or retrospective play, which of course is not intended to reflect the period of its composition. Before 1796 virtually all native playwrights when they were treating native themes chose their plots from contemporary life, but after that time they began frequently to revert to the past for dramatic subjects. John D. Burk in his tragedy en-

titled "Bunker Hill" (1797) is one of the first playwrights of importance to draw upon past native events or conditions for materials.

a. The Patriot

In "Bunker Hill" General Warren is represented as a consecrated Patriot leader such as history proves that he was. He says:

> The patriot should o'erleap all obstacles
> Which stand between him and his darling country. (Act II, Sc. 1.)

He almost worships the spirit of liberty, and resolves to be free, be the cost what it may. Although he is modest by nature, in his determination to have justice he becomes furious. Toward kings he feels the bitter hostility that was typical of his partisan countrymen at the time.

> What are kings?
> Kings form a horrid junto of conspiracy,
> A Catilinian compact 'gainst the lives,
> The rights, the peace, the freedom of the world.
> . . . . . .
> They live by blood, and tears, and sweat, and groans:
> They exercise oppression, lust, and piracy;
> Famine and war, their iron-hearted ministers,
> Before them go; while prostrate at their feet
> Science and freedom downward to the dust
> Point their dishonor'd faces. (Act. III, Sc. 2.)

He never loses confidence in his people, and is willing to give up his life that his ideal of a country may become established.

Another tragedy containing Patriot characters is Dunlap's "André" (1798). The General in the play is evidently modeled after Washington's real character. He is a genuine Patriot of mature, calm, and deliberative mind. He keeps ever ready for action, and is direct to a purpose. By the spirit of his troops he is encouraged, and in their hardships he feels sincere sympathy. He recognizes the virtues of an enemy, makes allowance for human imperfection, and has a mind large enough to overlook insult. His personal impulse is to spare André's life, yet he signs the death-warrant on the grounds of necessity.

The same play presents a youthful American captain of unbridled spirit, in the character of Bland. He might be said to represent the body of citizens who condemned André's execution. He is a fearless Patriot captain-of-horse, zealous, impulsive, and generous. At one time he was a British prisoner, and became an admirer of Major André. He measures a man by his worth and not his party, considers the laws of warfare unjust, and cannot think of his English friend's being put to death. Although he has merit

and is usually dutiful, circumstances render him rash and headstrong, and in a fit of passion he vigorously attacks the course of justice decided upon by his compatriots for the British spy. He later gains control of himself, confesses his wrong attitude, and feels shame on account of his maddened behavior. Yet he never wavers in his deep attachment to André.

Other Patriot Characters

Major Camden (officer in the American army, during the Revolution; warm admirer of Washington, Congress, and the French allies), "The Traveller Returned" (1796).

Generals Putnam and Prescott (resemble Warren) and Elvira (Patriot girl), Burk, "Bunker Hill" (1797).

McDonald (middle-aged general, distinguished by his bravery, cool-headedness, common sense, and disposition always to reason his way) and Mrs. Bland (patient, sensible, dignified Patriot wife and mother), Dunlap, "André" (1798).

There are always more or less overemphasis and idealization in the portrayal of Patriots by a native playwright—such is to be expected. Whatever realism such characters possess must be sought beneath the conventional externals.

b. The Politician

The characterizations in this group seem to be unusually realistic.

In a dramatic piece by John Murdock, called "The Politicians" (1798), the politician is presented in variations. The play sets forth conditions during Washington's second presidency when the people were dissatisfied with the government's attitude toward both England and France.[12] We are first introduced to two females of diverse political views. An excerpt from their conversation will characterize them:

MRS. TURBULENT. You are bitter, very bitter, Mrs. Violent.

MRS. VIOLENT. I will never be otherwise to your party—a wicked, restless, marploting set; ever combining to cross the purposes of government, trying every possible means to render President Washington's administration unhappy to him.

MRS. T. (Scornfully.) President Washington's administration! He never was equal to the situation he was placed in: vastly has his talents been overrated; he possesses none beyond that of being an overseer to a Virginia plantation, or the superintendence of a horse-stable: he is an excellent judge of horses.

MRS. V. Monstrous! monstrous! (Walking in rage.) After such sacrilege I shall be afraid to remain under your roof, lest it should fall upon me, to speak so contemptuous of a man who may justly be called the father of his country. A man who is an honor to his God, a credit to his country, and an ornament to human nature.

MRS. T. He, an honor to his country, he! and his infamous party have been the ruin of our country.

MRS. V. Your Jacobin faction are to be charged with all the evils that have befell us, and all the troubles that await our country: you have been abetting the French tyrants from the first to the present moment. (pp. 4-5.)

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[12] See Winsor, *Narrative and Critical Hist.*, VII:461ff.

Partial, in the same play, is antagonistic to the Federalists, and after the following remarks comes to blows with the bitter, outspoken Crusty:

PARTIAL. Your servant, Mr. Crusty; what is the news?

CRUSTY. Damn all news.

PAR. Be not so short, good Mr. Crusty. Nothing from our good friends, the French?

CRUST. Damnation to them, the thieves: they our old friends!

PAR. I think so. Don't you know the old saying, Mr. Crusty: friends in need are friends indeed. We should have been slaves, if they had not befriended us.

CRUST. Not more so than they would make us.

PAR. Did they not show us their best affections?

CRUST. 'Twas interest, damme, sir; nothing but interest. 'Twas a stroke of policy; cutting a limb off their powerful rival. Rome against Carthage, damme; Rome and Carthage over again.

PAR. Then you don't conceive we are under the strongest ties of obligation to them?

CRUST. No, sir, no; I hate the words obligation and gratitude. They are worn as thread-bare as your great grandmother's under-petticoat. Put the matter to concise reasoning; I hate your damn'd long arguments: we had a dispute with Great Britain about her unconstitutional attempts on the score of taxation; we had recourse to arms; we had occasion for auxiliaries; we hired Frenchmen; we paid them; and what the devil do they want more?

PAR. So you won't give them any credit—we are under no obligation!

CRUST. By Jupiter! no; they are under obligation to us.

PAR. How will you make that appear?

CRUST. Why damme, for inoculating them with the spirit of liberty; if a change of things is to be a blessing to them, who are they to thank but us? (p. 9.)

"Federalism Triumphant" (1802), a bitter satire on the Vermont Federalists of the time, contains about two dozen political characters, of which the following are the more noteworthy:

Jonathan (Governor Trumbull [13]) uses his "utmost endeavors to promote the good old (Federalist) cause"; Primus, ci-devant speaker of the Vermont assembly, acquiesces "in his Excellency's opinion"; Long John (John Allen) is anxious to "push Jefferson into hell's kitchen—damn all Democrats" (p. 13); Hillbarn believes that "money is the nobility of America," and longs to found "a more stable government than that which is dependent on the fickle whims of the people" (pp. 9-10); M'Fingal (John Trumbull) is a poet of the Federalist faction; Jerry sees Republicanism getting "beyond the control of all the Hamiltons, Adamses, and Harpers of modern times" (p. 37); and Pierpont (Edwards) is "tired to death of the waterman politicians, looking one way and rowing another, in religion or politics" (p. 34).

Other Politician Characters

Conciliate, Dispassionate, Hasty, and Adz—Murduck, "The Politicians" (1798).

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[13] Identifications from the Brown University copy.

5. Rural Characters

a. The Farmer

Farmer Clover in "Rural Felicity" (1801), while having numerous romantic touches, still reflects contemporary life in the country. Concerning America we hear him addressing Patrick thus:

We are in a free country; here our laws display an equal share of justice to the citizens of the world, and our government is guarded against foreign intrusion; and our jurisprudence, similar to that you left; our distance from the old world and the extent of our fertile country have been in favor of general liberty. (p. 14.)

The practice among farmers of getting a quarter of fresh meat occasionally from a neighbor is referred to:

CLOVER. Neighbor Boniface has killed his fat ox; I am to have a round, a sirloin, a rump, and a brisket. We shall have roast and boil'd for some days. Ha, ha, ha! no sooner said than sent; there's neighbor Miller's man with a quarter of a lamb, and on Thursday expect a quarter of a veal from Widow Smirk. (p. 19.)

At the table Clover remarks on rural etiquette:

Of those dishes within your reach, please help yourself, which is a privilege compatible with ease and liberty. To stand on more ceremony than necessary is contrary to the rules of the Clover charter. (p. 26.)

And when offered wine by his city guest he says:

We do not accustom ourselves to drink wine in the country.

The following conversation with his guest, a merchant—the farmer smoking, his wife spinning—seems very real:

CLOVER. The flax, of our own growth: when properly dressed, the thread—equal to any.

CONSTANT. (The guest). Were everyone as industrious, there would be little occasion for imported linens.

CLOVER. It was held up as a patriotic maxim, and became pretty general before the Revolution; since peace, all kinds of manufactures ceased. We seek the good of our country by importing the manufactures of others.

CONSTANT. Hush! the truth, my dear sir, is a crime. The revenue, the revenue must be considered. We who live by commerce conceive it most to our interest to exchange the produce of America for the manufactures of Europe.

CLOVER. Time must convince which mode is likely to be of the most essential service.

CONSTANT. True, sir; we will drop the subject. (p. 56.)

6. Working Man Characters

The barber of a century ago had a somewhat heterogeneous existence. Such a specimen appears in "Rural Felicity" (1801) and is not altogether fictitious. As Razor shaves his customers on the green before his door, he of course claims the prerogative of talking:

I love liberty and justice, therefore I am ready to shave; come take your turn as the horned do when they go to Heaven. Be quick, or I shall shave the oldest man first. (p. 33.)

. . . . . .

The fellow has a mind to engross all the business to himself; but modest men like me live by plain dealing. Say but the word and make me your executor; I'll shave close, comb your wife's wigs, and leave them well dressed, for the good of my country. (Making a lather in his basin.) (p. 34.)

Something as to the diversity of his services may be inferred from the new sign which Razor shows his patrons:

Look at my new sign called "The Salutation."

SALUTATION

(This group is supposed to be the heads of all nations, setting public example by politely addressing each other.)

"On rulers' being wise
Depend thousands of lives."

COLUMBIAN ALE, SNAPNECK, AND WHISKEY,
SHAVING, HAIR-CUTTING, TOOTH-DRAWING, AND BLEEDING

(p. 34.)

To his countrymen regaling and gossiping he offers a bit of advice:

You are like a company of gossiping dames, talking slander for the want of good manners; let me hear no more. I drill you all, and I shave you all, and my ale suits you all, and as long as it don't interfere with the interest of your families, I shall be glad to serve you all. Then, away to your homes. When you are independent by your diligence, then read Burke on Governments; also, be acquainted with the laws and constitution of your country. (p. 35.)

Other Working Man Character

Frize (barber), Minshull, "The Merry Dames" (1804).

7. Fashionable Society Characters

The plays of this decade contain comparatively few fashionable characters which realistically reflect American life.

a. The Beau

Two somewhat realistic examples of the early nineteenth century beau, such as was seen in New York, are presented in Minshull's inferior comedy of "The Sprightly Widow" (1803). With reference to characterization the author says: "The characters I have drawn are from incidents that daily occur in human events, and not pointed at any particular persons" (preface). The first beau is Dash, an agent. He is a spendthrift and fop who runs deeply in debt, often becomes intoxicated, has a weakness for gambling, and gets "bilked of his cash by a coalition of lewd women"; yet he possesses a fine disposition and clever mind, and passes as a favorite in "the higher circle." Other characteristics come out in the following. He says, "I am engaged with a party at the Harlaam races" (p. 11), and again, "A fine day for the races. It's there I mean to square my elbows and surprise the jockeys" (p. 12). He frequents "the Tontine Coffee-House," and when he goes riding it is usually in a tandem. His tastes are further revealed when he exclaims, "Let me see—O, so so, a new gig and a

pair of chestnut geldings, harness complete" (p. 11)—these, for his own use.

The second beau is Fanfaron, a blustering bully. By one he is called a "poltroon," by another a "fashionable blade," and again he is referred to as a "time-serving humorist." He flatters the fair sex, and has all customary "gentlemanly" manners. The stage directions contain the following: "Fanfaron appears at a distance, strutting and dressed like the knave of clubs, with the addition of a pair of ear-rings in his ears, in company with Dash intoxicated" (p. 27).

b. The Lady

In "The Merry Dames" (1804) there is introduced a fashionable lady named Mrs. Lively. She is doubtless drawn with a real person in mind. Frize, the barber, says that Mrs. Lively is one of his best customers who have hair-frizzing done, and that "she pays like a princess." He is also accustomed to call at her home in the capacity of hairdresser. When he comes one day unexpectedly, to deliver a message, she asks, "Frize, what has brought you here?" He answers, "Fashion, madam, and I am always attentive to my master's best customers. What is your opinion, madam, of the last new fashion from Europe?" She takes two lady's wigs and examines them; then she sends Frize away, saying, "I thank Mr. Comb for the attention paid me in sending the first of the fashion; should I want either, I will send for you" (p. 6).

Other Lady Characters

Marriott Montague (gay, thoughtless society girl), "The Traveller Returned" (1796).

Mrs. Stockton (good-humored "society mamma") and Widow Sprightly—Minshull, "The Sprightly Widow" (1803).

8. Servant Characters

a. The Black

A bit of comedy with a significant realistic touch is presented in Murduck's "The Politicians" (1798), when three negro servants belonging to different houses meet and express their political views:

POMPEY. My massa no like English—I hate 'em, too—drom proud—so conceit coxcomb—look like everybody tunk in e nose.

CAESAR. Ten hundred times better den French, drom fribble, buffoon, ape, monkey; English, fine, manly fellow; besides, French come cut our throat; I like English: English foreber!

POM. France foreber! France gib liberty to slabe; liberty and France foreber! My massa for France, so I. Who you for, Sambo?

SAMBO. I go we massa, too.

POM. He for France?

SAM. No.
POM. For English?
SAM. No.
CAE. Who debil he for den?
SAM. He for he country.
POM. For he country!
SAM. Ah, for he country! Massa say, dam French, dam English; he say, what e debil business have we do wi two bully nation? he say, let 'em fight and be dom'd. (pp. 20-21.)

Conclusion

The realistic presentation of American characters in native plays written between 1796 and 1805 is as follows:

I

1. Of more than ninety native plays (one-third of which are translations and adaptations from the French and German) recorded by Wegelin, not more than one-fifth contain characters that significantly reflect American life.

Bibliography I, although it omits most of the translations and adaptations, contains all the better original plays of the day.

2. As a rule, three out of every four American characters are found in the plays that treat historical and political subjects. Two-thirds of these plays have contemporaneous themes, while the remaining third, with few exceptions, deal with the immediate past.

3. Most of the characters that resemble real persons belong in the political group, although fair examples now and then occur elsewhere.

The political characters are found chiefly in pieces based on either the past American history or the political circumstances of the day. The characters of the latter plays are the more vital, and occasionally decidedly real. From them something of the spirit of the times is felt.

Before 1796 the life of each decade was so full of happenings and action that authors rarely looked backward for a subject. In the occasional retrospective plays of this decade there is some attempt at reproducing the actual.

4. Yankee and Indian characters are almost wholly neglected during these years.

5. Fashionable society characters are seldom realistic to a noteworthy extent.

6. The best examples of native realism are often discovered in plays not well adapted to the stage.

II

The elements of a distinctive American nationality are far from obvious in the realistic dramatic characters of this time.

Characters, however, that may deserve a moment's notice in this connection are General Warren (in "Bunker Hill"), the consecrated, king-hating Patriot; the General (in "André"),

a deliberative, steady-moving, determined Revolutionary leader; and Crusty (in "The Politicians"), a blunt, reasoning, independent Federalist who is little concerned about any other nation than his own.

III

The qualities that lend permanence to characterization seldom enter into the American plays of this decade.

The best dramatic writing was done by William Dunlap. His tragedy of "André" (1798), though not a piece of high merit, rises somewhat above the then accepted standards for original plays, and shows the hand of a professional playwright.

CHAPTER III

REALISTIC CHARACTERS IN AMERICAN PLAYS WRITTEN BETWEEN 1805 AND 1815

A Decade of Comparative Passivity in American Drama

By Dunlap's bankrupty in 1805 the initial managership of the "father of American drama" came to a close. Although he had not realized his aspirations, he had nevertheless creditably performed the part of a pioneer dramatist.[1] During the next ten years American plays show something of a decline. In comparison with the preceding decade they are less numerous, and at the same time display fewer attempts at a creative handling of native materials. Foreign influence seems to have been having even greater effect, and there was less evidence among the writers of a desire to write distinctive drama. Since the original production of "The Contrast" (1787), there had sprung up a pronounced prejudice[2] against plays of American authorship, so that managers felt sometimes obliged to announce such plays as the work of English dramatists.[3] Although by the beginning of the nineteenth century this antagonism was fully developed, as early as 1829 it had grown less, as Stone's "Metamora"[4] will witness. Prior to our Second War for Independence there was too little faith in things American, and the more or less indifference toward American dramatic works was but one of many indications. These circumstances, combined with the fact that little of extraordinary note distinguishes any of the plays, seem to mark this decade as a time of comparative passivity in American drama.

With the War of 1812 there came a noticeable lull in native play writing, and for reasons already given[5] 1815 is taken as the end of the second historical period.

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[1] See Part II, Chap. II, Introduction.

[2] See prefaces to Barker's "Tears and Smiles" (1807) and "The Indian Princess" (1808).

[3] See Dunlap, 353.

[4] One of Edwin Forrest's most popular rôles was the Indian chief, Metamora, in John A. Stone's tragedy of the same name. Forrest paid Stone $500 for this play.

[5] See Part II, Introduction.

Between 1805 and 1815 the native theater kept prospering in the larger cities, and at the same time extending its activity into new territory.[6] English actors still continued in possession of the stage, George Frederick Cooke (1756-1811) coming in 1810 and Joseph George Holman (1764-1817), in 1812. In 1809 John Howard Payne, the "American Roscius," made his début.

The best American plays of the decade were written by James Nelson Barker (1784-1858), Charles Breck (1782-1822), Joseph Hutton (1787-1828), Mordecai Manuel Noah (1785-1851), and John Blake White (1783-1859).

1. Yankee Characters

An interesting representative of the Yankee type is Jonathan Postfree who gives the title to a farce (1806) by L. Beach. This Yankee, although assigned some of the current stage-traits, is after all not far removed from life. Let us, for instance, hear him give his experience at cattle-driving:

Came down (from Connecticut to New York) by land—drove down old 'Squire Herdy's cattle—darn'd ugly creatures to drive—almost pestered my heart out; had one pair of oxen in good command, or I could never got them here. "Whoa hoy, come hither," says I, and old Buck would come around as orderly. Only way I had to get them along—old Buck knew me, I s'pose—drove him many a day before the plough. The old fellow is as fat as mud—make some fine steaks for your York gentry—'Squire'll make them pay for it, too, I warrant. (p. 23.)

After Jonathan arrives we see him, with long whip in hand, locking the gate to the stock-yard and remarking:

There, darn your skins! I have got you here at last—there—now butt one another as much as you please; you'll not come out again to pester a body, I guess. (p. 10.)

Two more exaggerated examples of the Yankee are to be seen in Lindsley's "Love and Friendship" (1809). They are Captain Horner, who has come from New England to peddle notions in Charleston, S. C., and his serving man, Jonathan:

(Enter Capt. Horner, Jonathan following with a basket on one arm, containing some apples and potatoes; in one hand, a string of dried apples and onions; in the other, a piece of cheese and a bottle.)

CAPTAIN HORNER. Come along, I say, Jonathan; what dewe you walk so nation slow for? Staren' and gapen' at everything you see, I s'pose, bayn't you? . . . . Ayn't we got as fine things in Boston and Newport as any on 'um here? And then there's New-York—outstrips 'um all; she's the cap-sheaf. Take special care of the examples and don't lose none on 'um, Jonathan.

JONATHAN. Why, Capun Horner, you walk so tarnation fast the old dragon couldn't keep up with you; I'm sure I kayn't; and no wonder 'f I dewe lose sonthen'—why, you'd beat daddy's old leaden hoss all holler; darn my skin, 'f you wouldn't dewe it, clear as mud.

CAPTAIN HORNER. . . . . But we're got enemost up tewe the shops, and it's time for 'um tewe open; and 'f I sell my notions well, Jonathan, we'll buy a dram. (pp. 7-8.)

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[6] See Dunlap, 327-75.

Jonathan further reveals himself in a later speech:

Here I am, slick 'nough, and where to go next, be cust 'f I know. This must be Broad-street, and broad 'nough 'tis tewe, by gum! I've been walken' up it this good fifteen minutes, and darn'd 'f I've got acrost it yit. I must keep tewe eyes 'bout me, or I shall be intewe King-street, and the black-barded Jews'll shave the hair off my teeth. . . . . This here Charleston's such a rotten hot place, there's no liven' in 't; then there's sich a tarnation sight 'f negurs black as the old feller 'imself, a body kan't stir but they has 'um at their nose or their heels. It beats all nater! Never fetch me, 'f I don't wish I was t'hum agin, with all my heart. (p. 36.)

The foregoing is of course broad caricature; yet there can be little doubt that it but veils a type of real Yankee that then not infrequently visited the South with his wares.[7]

Other Yankee Characters

Nathan Yank (serving man; little more than a stage-character), Barker, "Tears and Smiles" (1807).

Robert (humble farmer of the neighborhood of Philadelphia), Breck, "The Trust" (1808).

Mrs. Polemic (illiterate, unfeeling, whimsical foster-mother), Watterson, "The Child of Feeling (1809).

Ploughby and Robert (farmer and son), Hutton, "Fashionable Follies" (1809).

2. Indian Characters

A half-dozen examples of the Indian are presented in Barker's "The Indian Princess" (1808). An "advertisement" at the beginning of the play states:

The principal materials that form this dramatic trifle are extracted from the General History of Virginia, written by Captain Smith, and printed in London, folio, 1624; and as close adherence to historic truth has been preserved as dramatic rules would allow.

Powhatan possesses paternal love, and has a disposition to be honorable and loyal in his relations with the colonists; but when once aroused through the representations of the tribe-priest, he bcomes traitorous and revengeful. He is obstinate in his opinions, has a settled belief in an Indian future life, and introduces much natural imagery into his speech.

The character of Pocahontas, the heroine, seems to be largely drawn from the imagination. At the beginning we see her sorrowing at the killing of a bird, and refusing to use her bow again. When Miami presents himself as suitor, she receives him with disdain. Like her brother, Nantaquas, she looks upon Smith as a divine visitor and, growing horrified at the tribe's decision to kill him, thereupon resolves to save his life. Her impression upon others comes out in such phrases as "sweet simplicity," "angel softness," and "bewitching gentleness." She trusts the English, and at once feels a fondness for Rolfe. Soon she discovers the "sav-

[7] Cf. Johnston, *Connecticut* (1887), 357.

age error" of her past life, begins to abhor the savagery about her, and feels a craving impulse to live as do civilized people. At last she is hailed as

> Our infant colony's best patroness;
> Nay, sir, its foster-mother. (Act II, Sc. 3.)

Other Indian Characters

Nantaquas (Powhatan's son; simple-minded, credulous, humane), Miami (blood-thirsty Susquehannock brave), Grimnosco (tribe-priest; suspicious and superstitious), and Nina (wild young squaw), Barker, "The Indian Princess" (1808).

The most realistic characters in Barker's opera are Powhatan, Miami, and Grimnosco.

3. Frontier Characters

a. The Colonist

The permanent Virginia settler is somewhat suggested in "The Indian Princess."

Walter is one of the less "gentlemanly" members of Smith's company. He has come to Virginia to stay, and is faithful to the colony leader in all his projects. The hardships of the forest do not discourage him, and after a day's work he can sit down and rejoice. To him a coward or a soft-handed gentleman is a source of amusement. He says to Larry:

> And first, let's to the forest; the young sparks
> In silken doublets there are felling trees;
> Poor gentle masters, with their soft palms blistered;
> And while they chop and chop, they swear and swear,
> Drowning with oaths the echo of their axe. (Act III, Sc. 1.)

Larry is an Irish settler, who does not differ essentially from Walter. He is good-natured, witty, loyal, and energetic. Alice and Kate are respectively the wives of Walter and Larry, and have decided to share patiently their husbands' lots in the New World.

4. Military Characters

Ben Bundle in Dunlap's "Yankee Chronology" (1812), an "interlude" written soon after the victory of the Constitution over the British frigate Guerrière, is a "true Yankee tar" who has just come ashore. He thus explains to his father his absence from home:

> It's now two years since I was pressed by the English and put on board his Britannic majesty's ship, the Outrageous, where I remained till I'd the good fortune to make my escape —and landed in Boston on the first of August; but I couldn't write then, father, for the brave Capt. Hull, who had outmaneuvered a whole British squadron and left them in the lurch, was just on the point of sailing again to try them on t'other tack. To be sure, they told me he'd neither powder nor ball on board, and was up to nothing but running away, but that I knew must be all a damned lie, invented by some scribbling English editor, and so I entered a volunteer on board of the Constitution—our Constitution—and a glorious Constitution we've got! (p. 6.)

Speaking of the approach to the Guerrière, he says:

Johnny Bull now showed she wished us to come up, for she lays her main top sail to the mast, as much as to say, "Come on, my Yankee boys, come on; we'll soon quit you." We doused our top gallant sails, stay-sails, and flying gib.

. . . . . .

John Bull wanted to play at long shot, but that didn't suit us Yankee boys. "Coolly, coolly," says our captain, "near her"; says our captain, "lay her alongside," says our gallant captain.

After a graphic description of the fight, which the Yankees soon brought to a successful issue, he concludes:

"Board her, board her," was the word. "No!" says our gallant captain, "she's no longer an enemy, for don't you see she can no longer defend herself?" She fired a gun to leeward; we shot ahead and gave three cheers—and all was over.[8] Damme, but I thought Johnny Bull would have stood more than half a glass. (pp. 7-8.)

Other Military Characters

Captain Dorriville (with Decatur against Tripoli), Hutton, "Fashionable Follies" (1809).

5. Political Characters

a. The Patriotic Citizen[9]

A fair example of the patriotic citizen appears in "Yankee Chronology" (1812). Old Bundle, wrought up over frequent false reports circulated against the Yankees, exclaims:

It don't signify, and it isn't to be borne with due meekness. So many tarnation lies! And all for what? to praise our enemies and run down ourselves. Whatever they do is right, whether it is right or wrong; and whatever we do is wrong, whether it is wrong or right.

Soon his absent son Ben arrives:

But you young dog, where have you been, and why haven't you wrote me these two years?

Ben explains.

And is it true, then? And were you, Ben, on board of the Constitution? Tell me, my dear boy, how it all was.

The young "tar," while telling of the defeat of the Guerrière, says:

We reefed our top-sail, hauled in our courses, and sent down the royals.

OLD BUNDLE. That's right, Ben; down with the royals! That's an old Yankee trick! Well, my boy, go on; down with the royals!

After Ben has finished the old man remarks:

My brave boy, I have not had such a glorious day for many years. We have shown the world that the true friends of peace are best able to chastise an insolent enemy. (pp. 5-8.)

Other Patriotic Citizen Characters

General Campdon (veteran of the Revolution), Barker, "Tears and Smiles" (1807).

b. The Politician

Mr. Polemic in "The Child of Feeling" (1809) represents the man who has one hobby from which his mind is seldom free and

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[8] Cf. McMaster, *Hist. of People of U. S.* (1895), IV:72-77.

[9] See Part II, Chap. I, Sec. 8, b, for definition.

upon which he is constantly setting off. Mr. Polemic has a mania for foreign politics, and entertains his friends by enunciating the proper policies for the European governments! Suddenly breaking off a conversation, he says:

But I can't stay another moment; must hasten directly to the coffee-house and read the very important piece of foreign intelligence to my friends. (p. 14.)

A little later he remarks:

The papers from Europe are full of interesting information, and it is absolutely necessary the Americans should see it. I believe, if it was not for me, they would be all involved in political darkness. Yes, yes, I'm sure of it. (p. 38.)

Displeased with the intimations of another, he exclaims:

Why, rot the fellow; I could have borne anything better than to be called a fool! I—who have thrown so much light on the political science, and have written such energetic and labored essays in the newspapers to enlighten by countrymen, to be called a fool is really too bad. But perhaps he don't know what I have done, or how great a politician I am. No, he don't! no, no, but I always thought so; yes, yes, I always thought so. (p. 62.)

6. Man of Affairs Character

Mr. Dashaway (outspoken, unscrupulous, wealthy business man), Lindsley, "Love and Friendship" (1809).

7. Working Man Character

A specimen of the sailor of the day appears in "Love and Friendship" (1809) in the person of Jack Hardweather. He is a rough, reckless, impudent fellow, and in the jargon of "tars" seems to enjoy the sound of his own voice. Being thrown out of his usual occupation by the Embargo of 1807-09, he seeks employment on land:

I am Jack Hardweather, a piece of a sailor, d'ye see, but damn me, since the embargo, I have good reason to be almost tired of your salt sea sprays; so I am on the look-out for a dry dock or snug berth on shore, for a cruise. (pp. 6-7.)

Hearing Jonathan give a toast to "Columby's navy," Jack exclaims:

Well done, brother Jonathan, well said, my blue-skin Presbyterian. Eaton and Decatur forever! and the Philadelph'a's fate all the world over to every vessel that dares impress our shipmates, or molest our free commerce, of whatsomdever nation, my hearties! Pass the grog, brother blue-skin.

Soon becoming a little intoxicated, he continues:

So to the devil we kick all non—non—importation acts, dry docks, gunboats, and Carter's mountain, and protect ourselves like men by fortifying our har—harbors and building seventy-fours and frigates to keep a look-out ahead for enemies and foul weather, my boys. (pp. 38-39.)

8. Fashionable Society Characters

a. The Beau

A more or less typical beau is Fluttermore in "Tears and Smiles" (1807). He tries to avoid in his speech and actions any

appearance of vulgarity. He was educated in America and left college with true love of country in his heart. After that he made a trip abroad, by which everything was changed. He came home a coxcomb, pale and frivolous, with "a hearty contempt for everything this side the water." The following will illustrate:

The English can't dress, talk, nor cook so well as the French. The Italian opera is a dev'lish deal finer than anything in the world. . . . . Then for laws—for laws: they are everywhere better than *ours*, because everywhere else the *bourgeois* is kept under. (p. 21.)

Speaking of sensibilities:

But as to raptures and ecstasies and that kind of thing, gad, they're all out; left the fashionable world long since. Those monopolizers, the novelists, have bought up all the old-fashioned article, and if you want it now, you must apply to the only shop where 'tis to be had; *savoir*, the circulating library. (p. 36.)

To a friend who is thinking of settling down in the country, he remarks:

I'll tell you. Once a week or so you will emerge from the elegant cares of a counting-room, to take the benefit of the dust with spousy, to your rural cot on the high road; and once a year catch an ague, for the benefit of your health, at some of your brilliant watering-places. Amiably domestic, you'll play cards for kisses with lovey; or make one of a tea-drinking circle in the American taste: staring at each other like a room full of wax-figures, and gloomy as a Presbyterian synod. . . . . You don't dance, therefore madam's annual cotillion is nothing to you; but you'll visit your unparalleled theatre, perhaps once a winter, to see some delectable American muse, in the shape of a comedy; and end the year merrily at Christmas by settling your books and collecting your debts. (p. 58.)

Other Beau Characters

Dick (dissipated fop, such as colleges are sometimes reputed to breed), Lindsley, "Love and Friendship" (1809).

Delany (fop) says:

Formerly, indeed, (gambling and such) were called vices by some silly old puts, but the word has been expunged from the modern vocabulary. If a blood, sir, was not to frequent the billiard table, stake at faro, keep a girl and ogle with her at the theatre, he would be hissed out of genteel society. (p. 20)—Hutton, "Fashionable Follies" (1809).

b. The Lady

Mrs. Ledger (unreasonable, superficial, material-minded wife and mother), Beach, Jonathan Postfree" (1806).

9. Servant Characters

a. The Black

A somewhat realistic specimen of the slave of the early nineteenth century is presented in "Love and Friendship" (1809). This is a negro boy, Harry, who belongs to a wealthy society family of South Carolina:

(Enter Harry with a small tea-board, a decanter of gin, pitcher of water, vial essence of mint, and a punch-bowl.)

HARRY. Eh! he de gone; I s'pose he no could wait. Now if I no de feara ole massa come and play de debil wid me for true, I do like young massa Dickey, and make little julep for myself. (Mixes liquor, sugar, etc.) . . . . Heigho! bess for me for happy I can; so now no massa bin here, I 'joy myself, and do de same like massa, on'y I no git drunk. (pp. 13-14.)

After a few hours "Harry opens the chamber door and Dick reels in":

Heighho! what wicked worl dis white man worl be for true do! No like de negur country; no do sich ting dere; no hab rum for git drunk and fight. I wish neber bin blige for lef it. I bin happy dere. . . . .; no de hab massa for scole, no lan bad ting, and hear him ebery day so much. . . . . But why me de no happy? He bess be happy I can, now I here poor slave, and no can git backa my country again. (p. 35.)

10. Professional Characters

a. The Professional Crank

In the plays of this time there are found some professional cranks that seem to be caricatures of real persons.

Watterson says in the preface to "The Child of Feeling" (1809) that he wrote his comedy in order to introduce what he believes to be an entirely new character, "described, with the addition of a little caricature, such as he really exists. 'Etymology' is one with whom many are not acquainted, but whom some, no doubt, have seen in their intercourse with the living world." The scene of the play is Philadelphia. A bit of Etymology's dialogue will sufficiently describe him.

Introducing himself to a lady:

(Bowing.) Your most obedient, ma'am, most obedient; hope I don't intrude. My name's Etymology, ma'am, well known in this populous city: teach school, sing psalms, write poetry, understand Latin, and speak Greek. Now I think of it, will teach you any of those branches at a very moderate price; do you understand, ma'am? (p. 27.)

At another time he meets Mr. Polemic who inquires if he is looking for some one:

Thank you, sir, thank you; came here to see Mr. Splash, sir; have the honor of being his preceptor: the word preceptor, sir, is derived from *hic preceptor*, Latin, which signifies a teacher. Now I think of it, will teach you anything you would wish to learn; viz., dancing, fencing, boxing, poetry, history, biography, chronology, ontology, physiology; only enquire for Ety, and he'll attend you in a moment. Do you understand, sir?

Upon hearing this, Polemic says aside:

Umph! This fellow is one of our braggadocios, I see, that teaches more than he knows. (pp. 62-63.)

Other Professional Crank Characters

Will Heartwell (eccentric scientific scholar), Breck, "The Fox Chase" (1808).
Primeval (self-complacent antiquary), Breck, "The Trust" (1808).

b. The Justice

Catchpay (unprincipled Charleston, S. C., notary), Lindsley, "Love and Friendship" (1809).

Conclusion

The realistic presentation of American characters in native plays written between 1805 and 1815 is as follows:

I

1. Characters that reflect American life are presented in at least one-third of the more than forty-five recorded native plays of this decade.

Bibliography I contains a representative list.

2. Most of the realistic characters are found in comedies and operatic pieces: a smaller number occur in plays on historical and political subjects.

The plays of this time show a good deal of variety. Those of realistic importance are nearly all suitable for the professional stage.

3. Although the decade presents no particularly predominant realistic characters, the Yankee type seems somewhat to lead.

The Yankee, revived after two decades following the original presentation in 1787 and found in at least seven plays of this decade, seems in general less natural and more of a stage-clown in comparison with the same rôle of the earlier pieces.

4. Indian characters, in many ways idealized, are just beginning to claim favorable notice.

The only important Indian play of this time is Barker's "The Indian Princess" (1808).

5. Characters reflecting the day's political and national affairs appear in comparatively small numbers.

Fewer than twenty percent of the forty-five or more plays above mentioned touch upon the political events of the time, seven of which are "The Embargo" (1808; in MS), "Love and Friendship" (1809), "Yankee Chronology" (1812), "The American Captives" (1812; in MS), "She Would Be a Soldier" (1813), "The Festival of Peace" (1815; in MS), and "Battle of New Orleans" (1815; in MS).

6. There are few significant fashionable society characters.

II

Suggestions of American nationality are negligibly lacking.

III

Nothing of the universal enters into the realistic dramatic characters of this time.

Evidences of superior ability are seen in the plays of James Nelson Barker.

PART III

PART III

THE REALISTIC PRESENTATION OF AMERICAN CHARACTERS IN THE NATIVE AMERICAN PLAYS OF THE PERIOD OF DEVELOPMENT AND PARTIAL INDEPENDENCE 1815-1870

The chief benefit that the people of the United States derived from the second war with Great Britain was "the consciousness of nationality." [1] On every hand there were signs of a national awakening. In literature, other than dramatic, Irving, Bryant, and Cooper were making a "literary declaration of independence," while in American drama, less gloriously of course but by no means less surely, Payne, Harby, Noah, and a few others were transcending their dramatic predecessors. Our cultured citizens were beginning to patronize the histrionic art more generally, and were rewarded by the opportunity to see all the celebrated players of Europe. This new-born interest, among manifold movements toward national supremacy, was doubtless responsible in a large sense for the advent of Edwin Forrest.

Forrest began to attract attention as an actor in 1826, and for nearly a half-century was one of the most potent influences in the development of the American drama and theater. He popularized the Indian as a stage-character, established the Forrestian school of actors, convinced Europe that the United States also had theatrical talent, and on account of repeated encouragement to American playwrights [2] became the acknowledged patron of much of the superior dramatic activity of the period. He and his English contemporaries cultivated among Americans a taste for the Elizabethan drama, and at the same time gave stimulus to the composition of literary plays. Among the productions of this class might be named Stone's "Metamora" (1829), Brown's "Sertorius" (1830), Bailey's "Waldimar" (1834), Bird's "The Gladiator" (1837), Conrad's "Jack Cade" (1839), Willis's "Tortesa" (1839), Longfellow's

[1] Hart, *The Amer. Nation*, XIII:193.
[2] See Rees, B, 414.

"The Spanish Student" (1842), Boker's "Calaynos" (1848), Miles's "Mohammed" (1850), and Boker's "Francesca da Rimini" (1853). By the middle of the century legitimate drama, especially through the compositions of Boker, had been raised considerably above the level of mediocrity.

The progress in tragedy, however, was hardly surpassed by the advancement in comedy. While Forrest was interpreting the emotions of Metamora, Jack Cade, and Othello, James H. Hackett was winning favor in the rôles of Solomon Swop, Colonel Nimrod Wildfire, and Falstaff. American comedy came into its rights during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and as the acknowledged head of the comedians stood the versatile Hackett. His impersonations of exaggerated yet typical American characters were skillfully done, and because of the successes of himself and his followers native authors were induced to put into comedy all the more conspicuous types of American character, particularly those of the less refined order. Further development along the line of low comedy may be seen in the frequent local New York plays; also, in the realm of vitalized burlesque where the irrepressible John Brougham held sway.

Along in the early forties a definite new movement began to be observed in American drama. This was in the form of high comedy which attempted to deal somewhat realistically with the fashionable society and business phases of American life. The first important play of this species was "Fashion," written by Mrs. Anna Cora Mowatt and produced in 1845. Joseph Jefferson calls it "the first American comedy worthy of the name." [3] Although it was obviously imitative in its technique, it nevertheless showed originality in its subject matter and in the manner of presenting the same. Many pieces of similar type were written during the next quarter-century.

As the cloud of the Civil War began to arise its aspects were mirrored forth in the plays of the day. One of the most famous pieces with a far-reaching political significance was Aiken's dramatized version (1852) of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Other plays of a more or less political coloring followed, and it would not be impossible to trace much of the history of the Civil War by a study of the contemporary dramatic works.

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[3] Bates, XIX:5.

The Civil War, however, as should be expected, tended to put a check upon the acting and writing of plays in the United States. Although from time to time a few indifferent pieces appeared, on the whole the decade beginning with 1860 made small contribution to native drama. It was in reality a time of transition, for when American play-goers once more began to give notice to plays and players they found conditions somewhat changed from those of antebellum days. During the late sixties and early seventies the Robertsonian "cup and saucer school" had taken hold upon America; the play of many scenes, soliloquies, and asides, written for presentation by a "star" actor on a platform-stage, was being superseded by the play of fewer scenes and devices, intended for production by players of the new "combination" system, with the aid of a more elaborate setting;[4] and, furthermore, in certain quarters there were observed signs of a more serious endeavor "to set on the stage the salient characteristics of American life."

"In dealing with American life in the drama, practically and realistically," [5] the real pioneer was Bronson Howard. His first success, "Saratoga," was produced by Augustin Daly in 1870. It was later presented on the European stage, and was adapted by Paul Lindau into the German—a recognition perhaps never before given to an American play.[6] "Saratoga" proved but the beginning of a long series of triumphs for Howard, who showed exceptional power in "The Young Mrs. Winthrop" (1882), "The Henrietta" (1887), and "Aristocracy" (1892). Professor Brander Matthews says, "His plays, all of them, from first to last, are essentially American in theme and outlook." [7] Hamilton W. Mabie writes: "The vital movement in American drama may be said to have begun with that expert playwright and charming man, Bronson Howard. . . . . His plays were American to the core. . . . . He was well equipped for the writing of comedy, for he had inventiveness, vivacity, humor, keen insight, and knowledge of contemporary society." [8] Bronson Howard has been styled the "dean of American drama," [9] and there seems to be every reason for his meriting the title. With him and his successors there came into native drama

[4] See Matthews, A, 284-85.
[5] *Ibid.*, 293.
[6] See Matthews, A, 282.
[7] *Ibid.*, 289.
[8] Mabie, *Outlook*, 102: 947.
[9] See Moses, 73 ff.

a new era, more distinctively American, more genuinely creative, and more thoroughly professional. It seems appropriate, therefore, to regard the year 1870 as the closing date of the period of development and partial independence.

The period of American drama, defined by the years 1815 and 1870, permits of four fairly logical divisions. The first subperiod, embracing the dramatic pieces between 1815 and 1829, may be called a time of awakening in American drama; the second, covering the productions between 1829 and 1845, seems to be an epoch of growth for legitimate drama and plays treating native themes; the third, extending from 1845 to 1860, is an epoch of significant creative activity in native dramatic writing; and the last, the ten years opening with 1860, I have considered as a decade of transition. The purpose of the following chapters is to show the realistic presentation of American characters in the plays of these subperiods.

CHAPTER I

REALISTIC CHARACTERS IN AMERICAN PLAYS WRITTEN BETWEEN 1815 AND 1829

A Time of Awakening in American Drama

The successful issue of our Second War for Independence early in 1815, followed soon by the "Era of Good Feeling," effected "a more perfect union" of our citizens and compelled a less qualified recognition of our government by the great world powers. Everywhere there were evidences of renewed vigor—conditions that likewise characterized native dramatic and theatrical [1] activity. Belonging to the decade and half which followed, more than one hundred native plays (including several adaptations and imitations) are recorded.[2] The best of these is John Howard Payne's (1791-1852) "Brutus," acted in London, 1818, and now considered the first specimen of really meritorious drama by an American author. Other superior plays of the time were written by Isaac Harby (1788-1828), John Neal (1793-1876), Mordecai Manuel Noah (1785-1851), James Kirke Paulding (1779-1860), Richard Penn Smith (1790-1854), John Blake White (1783-1859), Samuel Woodworth (1785-1842), and Frances Wright (1795-1852). In spite of a prevalence of foreign subjects, treated after approved methods, the prospects of American drama were nevertheless brightening.

During this era of prosperity the literary and cultured public first began to feel a genuine interest in the drama. The most celebrated English actors now paid their first visits to our shores, among whom came Edmund Kean in 1820, Junius Brutus Booth in 1821, and William Charles Macready in 1826. Between 1813 and 1832 the talented John Howard Payne was sojourning in Europe and distinguishing himself as both actor and playwright. America was encouraging high dramatic art, and at the same time contributing something to it.

One of the most important occurrences of this time from the standpoint of the American theater and drama was the rise to fame

[1] See Clapp, 142ff; Wood, Chap. X.

[2] By Wegelin.

of Edwin Forrest. This native actor experienced his first triumph at the Park Theatre, New York, 1826, in the rôle of Othello, and from then on for nearly half a century he was recognized not only as the supreme American tragedian but as one of the greatest of his day. He exerted marked influence upon the American stage [3] and became the champion of national drama. His first attempt to encourage native talent was in 1829, when he offered the sum of five hundred dollars for the best tragedy on American history. John A. Stone submitted a piece founded on the Indian sagamore, King Philip, and entitled "Metamora." This play was awarded the prize,[4] and presented at the Park Theatre, December 15, 1829. The title rôle, that of the chief Metamora, became one of Forrest's most successful performances.[5] With it he won a fortune and much distinction, popularized the Indian play,[6] and gave additional impetus to native creative effort of a higher order.[7] The year 1829, therefore, may be taken as the beginning of a new chapter.

1. Yankee Characters

Between 1815 and 1829 the Yankee continued to be a favorite stage-character, especially during the decade of the twenties. From then on for many years the Yankee was one of the parts most frequently acted in American theaters.

Samuel Woodworth in his romantic drama of "The Forest Rose" (1825)—which was received with favor both here and abroad—presents Jonathan, a shop-keeper and farmer. This Yankee is of the stage variety and, like the others cited below, is only now and then given touches of the actual. The following alludes to his inquisitive and stingy tendency, and also illustrates his manner and dialogue:

JONATHAN. (To Bland, a city fop, who at first does not notice him.) Too darned proud to speak to a body in homespun coat. This must be one of them city chaps that come over here a-gunning. I say, mister—servant, sir.

BLAND. Tell me, my good fellow, how far am I from the Eagle Tavern?

JONATHAN. You don't belong to these parts, I calculate?

BLAND. Of course I do not. Will you answer my question?

JONATHAN. May be you are from New York? How does buckwheat sell?

BLAND. Will you direct me to Major Butler's, who keeps the stage-house at the sign of the Spread Eagle?

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[3] See Winter, A, 44-45.
[4] See Clapp, 244
[5] See Winter, A, 37.
[6] See Hutton, A, 13.
[7] See Rees, B, 96-102; 412-431.

JONATHAN. You a'n't acquainted with the major, are you? He trades at my shop.

. . . . . .

BLAND. So you are a shop-keeper, then?

JONATHAN. A little in the marchant way, and a piece of a farmer, besides.

BLAND. What do you sell?

JONATHAN. Everything: whiskey, molasses, calicoes, spelling-books, and patent grid-irons. (p. 13.)

After accepting a bribe Jonathan's conscience troubles him somewhat:

I don't calculate I feel exactly right about keeping this purse; and yet I believe I should feel still worse to give it back. Twenty-three dollars is a speculation that a'n't to be sneezed at, for it a'nt to be catched every day. But will it be right to keep the money, when I don't intend to do the job? (p. 25.)

"The Bucktails" (written soon after the War of 1812) contains a Yankee servant, Jonathan Peabody, who has accompanied two refined American citizens to England. Although overdrawn, he possesses many of the traits of Yankees who have just "licked" England for the second time. Plain, democratic, and blunt-witted, he also has much originality and common sense. He acknowledges no superior, and says with reference to his employer, "I've no master, I calculate." He whistles Yankee Doodle, and boastfully declares, "I'm half horse, half alligator, and a little of the Injen, I guess." He uses "by gum," "I swow," "guy hang it," and like phrases.

Other Yankee Characters

Daniel Briggs (Yankee booby), Woodworth, "The Deed of Gift" (1822).

Bloom and Herman (Yankee saw-mill builders), Hawkins, "The Saw Mill" (1824).

Welcome Sobersides (Green Mountain sergeant of the Revolution), Finn, "Montgomery" (1825).

Solomon Swop [8] (Yankee servant in England), "Jonathan in England" (1828; alteration from Colman's "Who Wants a Guinea?").

Jonathan Doolittle (tricky teamster) and Leather Stocking (Yankee scout and Indian fighter; borrowed from J. F. Cooper), Dunlap, "A Trip to Niagara" (played, 1829; published, 1830; Dunlap's last published play).

Industrious Doolittle (talking, speculating Yankee), "The Times" (1829).

Rip Van Winkle (lazy, drunken, long-suffering but good-hearted Dutchman; represented as using the Yankee dialect:

RIP. (Speaking in his sleep.) Mother Van Winkle, Dame Van Winkle, what are you arter? Don't be always badgering; will you never allow poor Rip a moment's quiet? Curse it! Don't throw the hot water about so; you'll scald one's eyes, and, so you will—darnation! And no mistake, so you have! (He awakens in sudden emotion.) Eh, by crikey! What's all this? (p. 42). Kerr, "Rip Van Winkle" (1829).

2. Indian Characters

During the decade preceding the production of "Metamora" (1829) Indian characters are somewhat frequently encountered in

[8] First Yankee character that established the reputation of an actor in this line; the actor was J. H. Hackett. See Matthews and Hutton, 162.

native drama. At least a half-dozen pieces, all of indifferent quality, are known to contain such.

Joseph Doddridge in an inferior play entitled "Logan" (1821) presents several Indians, none of whom seems especially exaggerated. Logan and Shahillas will serve as examples.

The former is meant to be historically accurate. He is chief of the Cayuga nation, and by choice is peace-loving, generous, and honorable. But after a merciless massacre of Indians in 1774, near Wheeling, W. Va., he resolves upon revenge—blood for blood. Superstitious and melancholy, he imagines that the spirits of the dead demand such a course; so he broods over the execution of their supposed wishes.

Shahillas, chief of the Ottoways, is the leading character of the play, and personifies mature Indian wisdom. He is deliberate, far-seeing, and experienced; he sees the dangers of war, and consequently prefers peace; although calm and just, in the fight he becomes furious.

Correct coloring is given the Indian dialogue in such expressions as "Long-knives" (as a name for the English), "big rifles which make thunder and lightning," and "for ten snows and ten ears of corn you have governed."

Other Indian Characters

Tawatees (hostile, blood-thirsty chief of the Shawnees), Kuhn (chief of the Wyandots; similar to Tawatees), Queeta (old squaw), Sheba (boy), and Young Squaws—Doddridge, "Logan" (1821).

Altamah (wild-natured squaw), Finn, "Montgomery" (1825).

Pontiac (chief; much the same as Rogers' Ponteach [9]), Augushaway (chief who follows Pontiac), Otscheo (priest of regular type), and Ultina (converted Indian woman; friendly to the whites), Macomb, "Pontiac" (1826).

Menawa (chief who regards Washington as favored by the Great Spirit. Failing to kill Washington at the time of Braddock's defeat, he in 1772 visits the colonel, who is surveying on the Kenhawa river, and makes a prophecy:

WASHINGTON. I offer you the calumet of peace and friendship.

MENAWA. No smoke with you. . . . .

WASH. Chief, I drink to our better acquaintance.

MENA. No drink with you—yet Menawa was born a chief. . . . . Now Menawn bows before a chief whom the Great Spirit favors. . . . .

WASH. Chief, we will eat together; white and red men will associate as brothers.

MENA. Menawa no eat with you. . . . . Menawa is a chief and the ruler over many tribes. . . . . Menawa is old and soon will be gathered to the Great Council fire of his Fathers; . . . . but before he goes, there is something here which bids him speak in the voice of Prophecy. Listen! The Great Spirit protects that man, and guides his destiny. He will become the Chief of Nations, and a people yet unborn hail him as the Founder of a mighty Empire! [10] (pp. 34-35), Custis, "The Indian Prophecy" (1828).

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[9] See Part I, Chap. I, Sec. 1.

[10] An actual occurrence. See Custis, *Recollections of Washington.*

3. Frontier Characters

Two captains of the Ohio and Virginia frontier of 1774 are presented in Doddridge's "Logan" (1821)—Captain Furioso and Captain Pacificus. The former is a restless, unfeeling leader of the whites, considers Indians mere beasts of prey, and is bent on their complete destruction. The latter, as his name indicates, is humane and deliberate, and the antithesis of Furioso.

Other Frontier Characters

The Unknown (regicide, hiding in America from Charles II), Isabella and Charles (daughter and grandson of the regicide; both are accused of sorcery), Ravensworth (unfeeling, superstitious accuser, and leader of the witchcraft-believers), Mary (daughter of Ravensworth; her love for Charles is interpreted as a magic spell he has worked), a bigoted judge, and benighted villagers—Barker, "Superstition" (1823).

Major Rogers [11] (Provincial officer; well acquainted with Indian nature; advises counterplot and prompt measures; distrusts the Indians, and is somewhat unfeeling in his attitude), Captain Freeman and Lieutenant Brheme (Colonial officers who defend American blood, and think that American bravery surpasses British discipline), and Father Pierre (French priest of good repute), Macomb, "Pontiac" (1826).

4. Military Characters

A few hints concerning the United States army of the period may be found in Smith's "The Eighth of January" (1829), which is based on the battle of New Orleans (1815). In the play there appears General Jackson, who was still living. He is represented as "straight and tough as a hickory," shrewd of mind, and pure of motive. He has a charitable disposition, believes that right will prevail, and sacrifices all private good for his country's welfare. He admires rugged honesty and bravery, and holds that all men are created with equal rights.[12]

Charles Bull in the same play is a Tennessee rifleman,[13] known as one of the "dirty shirts," and a brave, loyal, resourceful follower of Jackson. He is over six feet tall, and wears a rifle-shirt and cap. Another character is a Kentucky rifleman who, though of a wild, abrupt nature, is a never-missing marksman.

Other Military Characters

Commodore Intrepid (of U. S.; releases American citizens from captivity in Algiers), Smith, "The Siege of Algiers" (1823).

Colonel Washington (historical; revered by the Indians), Woodford (captain of Colonial rangers, 1755; settler of Western Virginia), and Bishop (old soldier body-servant of Col. Washington), Custis, "The Indian Prophecy" (1828).

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[11] Rogers wrote the first play on Pontiac, 1766.

[12] See McMaster, *Hist. of the People of U. S.*, IV: 188.

[13] Cf. Hart, *The Amer. Nation*, XIII: 213-14; Bassett, *The Life of A. Jackson*, II: 700ff.

5. Political Characters

A few of the political characters in the plays of this time are obviously realistic, particularly those of the patriotic citizen and politician groups.

a. The Public Official

Consul and Lady Tribute—Smith, "The Siege of Algiers" (1823).

b. The Patriot

Marion in Noah's superior drama of the same name (1821) is "a captain of volunteers in the American service." He stands as the most zealous type of Patriot leader, and is resolved to win freedom or suffer death. The ardor of his feeling is shown in such speeches as:

> We would be free, sir—free as air—free as our native mountains—free as we were born. (p. 28.)

He is daring, possesses a commanding personality, and willingly sacrifices all for his country's cause.

Other Patriot Characters

Caleb (refined farmer of means, who supports the Patriot cause), Nicholas (poor, illiterate, patriotic Whig), Emma (spirited Patriot wife of Tory parentage), and Catherine (heaven-trusting, liberty-loving rural wife), Noah, "Marion" (1821).

Geffrey (blunt, faithful old Patriot soldier), Adam Bothel (farmer Patriot leader; frank, brave, and just), and Mey Bothel (daughter of Patriot family), Judah, "A Tale of Lexington" (1823).

c. The Tory

Mrs. Fitzhenry (large-hearted Tory mother) and Beverly Fitzhenry (generous youthful Tory soldier), Noah, "Marion" (1821).

d. The Patriotic Citizen

Henry Tudor in Paulding's "The Bucktails" (written soon after the War of 1812) is supposed to represent a substantial American citizen of the time. Although he is idealized, he does possess such qualities and opinions as many true Americans have liked to assume to themselves. He is frank, unaffected, sensible, and patriotic. He is unable to trace back his ancestry further than his grandfather, and furthermore does not wish to bother with such kind of distinction. "Man can't remove one step from man," he says, "his nature fixes him." He detests the dissipation of English society, thinks that Europeans "consider their daughters as tradesmen do their wares," and remarks that American women "do not marry to come out into the gay world, but to retire from it." He prefers living close to nature, for the results are honesty and hap-

piness. He defends the American scorn of social convention, and says, "When hearts are pure, an hour's acquaintance is equal to an age of hypocritical contest, who shall deceive the other." Genuine Americans, he believes, should look upon European manners with fear and contempt, and should measure manhood by education, morals, and solid worth.

Other Patriotic Citizen Characters

Frank Tudor (brother to Henry Tudor), Paulding, "The Bucktails."

Zachariah Meanwell, somewhat refined Massachusetts farmer), Woodworth, "The Deed of Gift" (1822).

Huger (spirited son of American colonel; traveling in Europe), Woodworth, "La Fayette" (1824).

e. The Politician

A comedy, written by L. Sawyer, 1824, and entitled "Blackbeard," contains realistic scenes among politicians and voters at a county election in Virginia:

TURPIS. (A common people's candidate for representative to the state assembly, to a constituent.) I'll stand to it, I want no better friend than this jug, with what little I can put in slyly between drinks. The bottle's the best electioneerer, after all. . . .

MULEY. That's right, stick to the bottle. Treat the children with cakes, and their mothers with . . . . punch: it will set their tongues running in your praise . . . . If you can gain the women, you are sure of the men, as the head of a ship is steer'd by the stern, or——.

TURPIS. Or as a butcher steers a calf by the tail. Yes, I think we shall get the advantage of Candid, eh, Muley? For though he has got more book knowledge, I have got more impudence, which will stand me in its stead with a majority. . . . . Have you seen old Roughy? We must gain him; for he has more influence than any man in the county. His sons, and brothers, and uncles, and their connections could nearly elect a man of themselves. . . . . .

But do you have me a jug or two of whiskey on the ground. Zounds; I can't afford to give away brandy: it would cost six pence a vote, but with whiskey I can get them for half that. (p. 7.)

Turpis wins the election.

Other Politician Characters

First Countryman and Second Countryman (voters) and Sheriff (at a county election), Sawyer, "Blackbeard" (1824).

6. Rural Characters

a. The Farmer

Two Massachusetts farmers appear in "The Deed of Gift" (1822) with now and then a suggestion of the real. Old Barton is an aged father who foolishly surrenders his property before death to an ungrateful son. He is credulous and puritanic, and while not always honorable is inclined to justice. The second is Nathaniel Barton, the son. He is a deacon in the church, but in spite of his office is intemperate, and practices various kinds of hypocrisy.

Other Farmer Character

Mrs. Barton (whimsical wife of N. E. farmer; uneducated, but having come into wealth tries to appear learned; speaks in proverbs; is always citing Webster as an authority; calls the actors of plays infidels; makes her presence felt in the home; forces her aged father-in-law to give over his property, then assigns him quarters in the garret), Woodworth, "The Deed of Gift" (1822).

b. The Country Girl

Mary Moreland (N. E. village girl; dutiful daughter; ingenious; of no narrow prejudices; insists upon personal liberty), Woodworth, "The Deed of Gift" (1822).

Harriet (slightly suggests reality), Woodworth, "The Forest Rose" (1825).

7. Man of Affairs Characters

Several examples of the day's men of affairs are introduced into Mead's "Wall Street" (1819). Three of the more important appear in the following excerpts:

OLDTIMES. What a busy, merry place this Wall Street has got to be.

HARDRUN. Is this you, Mr. Oldtimes?

OLD. Why, yes, it *was* me some thirty years ago, but things have so changed within that time, that I hardly know whether it is myself or not. . . . . I remember when there were no Banks, no Bankers, no Shavers, and no running about to borrow money; . . . . when instead of Shavers, Sharpers, and Speculators, *honest men* lived here. But how is this? . . . . Banks make money, Brokers buy money. Here's "Stock and Exchange Brokers," here's "Premium for Dollars," here's "Outlandish money exchanged,"—Insurance Companies,—Lottery Offices, and the Devil knows what all. Egad, they are *all shavers* but *Saunders—he only cuts hair.* This is no place for me. (pp. 9-11.)

When we see Mr. Oldtimes again he is at the bank with a check, both of which are strange to him:

What a crowd here is, pushing and shoving, and counting money—*paper rags.* I can remember when good old gold and silver were all the money we had; and then every man was his own banker. But, now, we have banks, and brokers, and shinners, and shavers, and along with them your merchant tailors, and your merchant shoemakers, and your merchant this thing and that thing.

To an acquaintance whom he meets at the bank he says:

I am looking at this bustle of young upstarts behind the counter, with fine ruffles on their shirts. . . . . And what do they find to do after three o'clock? (pp. 32-33.)

It is explained that "they visit the hotels and the theatre, and play billiards, and cards, and dice, and ride and walk Broadway, and drink brandy and water, and hot whiskey punch, and so on." Thereupon the old gentleman with irrepressible contempt asks, "And who pays?"

Mr. Hardrun, being unable to borrow money elsewhere, is obliged to go to the detested brokers:

HARDRUN. I must have some money.

BROKER. I don't believe I can supply you.

HARD. You must; I have been everywhere, and can't *raise the wind*, and it's now only ten minutes before three!

BROK. How much do you want?

HARD. I can do with 750, and then I shall have just $15 over.

BROK. I could have lent any amount to-day at $2 on the thousand.

HARD. I never saw such hard times for cash in my life.[14]
BROK. Can't you do with $500?
HARD. I must have 750, and should like 800.
BROK. I expect I have drawn more than I have funds already.
HARD. I have not a moment to spare; give me a check.
BROK. When will you return it?
HARD. Tomorrow.
BROK. I shall have to go out and borrow it, if I let you have it; and I must charge you a high premium.
HARD. Let me have it and charge what you please.
BROK. Draw your check, dated tomorrow, for 803, (drawing checks.) and I will give you mine for 800. (Passing checks). (pp. 30-31.)

Skinflint, a money-lender in "Blackbeard" (1824), is more than a bit of fiction. The following scene will disclose his character:

SKINFLINT. (To a man who calls for a loan and mentions "North Carolina state-notes," starting.) Don't show me a North Carolina bank-note—I'd as lief have your note. They cover the land like the locusts of Egypt; I should never get my change again.

The borrower suggests that there is a way to force payment:

SKIN. They can't pay all, and therefore they pay none. As to recovering it by law, you might as well undertake to bail out the sea with an oyster-shell. Justice follows the largest purse; and how could my thousand (bless me, I had like to expose myself)—how could I long hold out against their reams of paper? They'd retreat into chancery, and keep me at bay for life. . . . . There is no doubt that they employ agents to buy up their own notes with the very money they promise to pay them in, and at a large discount.

Skinflint insists that he has no money to let out, until there is mention of "twenty-five percent and mortgage":

SKIN. Here, I say, stop a little, friend Roughy; I reckon I must try and make some shift to serve you, even if I have to stint myself. . . . . I think you said something about a mortgage and twenty-five percent?
ROUGHY. Yes, I did.
SKIN. Will you renew, interest and all, if not paid in three months?
ROUGH. Certainly. . . .
SKIN. I think I recollect now; I believe my old woman has as much as you want; she had been saving it to buy some negro women. Walk in. (pp. 29-31.)

Other Man of Affairs Characters

Mr. Easy, Mr. Shinner, Mr. Shaver, Mr. Merchant, Mr. Borrower, Mr. Bankrupt; President, Cashier, and Directors of a Bank—Mead, "Wall Street" (1819).

Jacob (shrewd banker) and Simon Dubius (dissatisfied holder of Jacob's bills), Taylor, "Things As They Will Be" (1819).

Citizen Yankoo (U. S. Merchant whose cargo is sacrificed by Algerine intrigue), Smith, "The Siege of Algiers" (1823).

Mordaunt, Sr. (wealthy, well-intentioned merchant, who because of his absorption in business neglects his home life, to his sorrow), White, "The Forgers" (1825).

8. Working Man Characters

Cartman and Labourer (working men having bank-notes which they are anxious to cash), Taylor, "Things As They Will Be" (1819).

9. Fashionable Society Characters

The portrayal of fashionable characters in some of the plays prior to 1829 shows a certain divergence from the usual dramatic convention.

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[14] See McMaster, *Hist. of the People of U. S.*, IV:484-521.

a. The Beau

Ridgeford (devotee of fashion, gambler, and atheist; wealth, his chief interest; cunning and revengeful), White, "The Forgers" (1825).

Broadway Lounger—"The Times" (1829).

b. The Lady

Although examples of the lady of fashion are numerous in native plays, those drawn directly from American life are found only now and then. Most of the characters mentioned below seem particularly real.

"Wall Street" (1819) presents a society mother and daughter, Mrs. Hardrun and Julia Hardrun, whose prototypes were surely known to the author. They are best characterized by their conversation with Mr. Hardrun:

MRS. H. (Accompanied by her daughter, hastening into her husband's place of business.) What a shame it is the street is so lumbered up with boxes.

HARD. My dear, you must expect it where business is done.

JULIA. Papa, my mamma has promised me a new dress for the assembly.

HARD. I can not help what your mamma has promised.

MRS. H. But, my dear, we must not disappoint Julia.

HARD. Why, it is hardly a week since, that I purchased her a new dress. And here are the bills for your extravagant party the other night, amounting to $200, and now you must have your dresses, and your assemblies, and your——.

MRS. H. My dear, how can you say so? Our party was not so splendid as our parson gave the other evening, and you know he is a good Presbyterian.

HARD. Ah, he is a salary-man—he can afford it.

MRS. H. But, my dear, Julia must have the dress. She is to have young Mr. Auctioneer for a gallant, whose father is very rich. . . . We must support the fashions—we must live in style.

HARD. But at this rate I am afraid I shall support the fashions by becoming a bankrupt.

JULIA. Papa always talks so when mamma wants money.

HARD. How much money must you have?

MRS. H. Sixty or seventy dollars will answer.

HARD. I have not so much by me at present.

MRS. H. Give me a check, then. (pp. 14-16.)

Returning an hour or so later:

JULIA. Well, Papa, I have bought me an elegant dress, some ornaments, and trifling things, for all which you are to pay only eighty-three dollars.

HARD. I am busy.

MRS. H. My dear, it is a beautiful dress and very cheap.

HARD. I can't attend to you; it is now two o'clock, and I have my bank account to make up.

JULIA. Papa, the parcel will be sent here; will you please to bring it home when you come to dinner? (Exeunt Mrs. H. and Julia.)

. . . . . .

HARD. (Alone, after receiving a statement of his daughter's purchases.) My family must not be so extravagant. Dinners, parties, balls, assemblies, evening entertainments, dresses, and all this for the fashions. If my family knew of my situation, they would think of something else besides dress. (pp. 26-28.)

Other Lady Characters

Mrs. Pembroke (vain society mother), Sawyer, "Blackbeard" (1824).

Mrs. Mordaunt (indulgent mother), White, "The Forgers" (1825).

Mrs. Carlton (wife of young American merchant in London) and Jane Warfield (attractive American heiress, visiting abroad), Paulding, "The Bucktails."

The last two characters contain many realistic touches.

10. Servant Characters

a. The Black

Job Jerryson (servant who has caught the spirit of independence; uses snuff, pretends to be any man's equal, and speaks of "the gentlemen and ladies of color"), Dunlap, "A Trip to Niagara" (1829).

11. Professional Character

Justice Moreland (stern, material-minded, just; leading citizen in a N. E. village), Woodworth, "The Deed of Gift" (1822).

Conclusion

The realistic presentation of American characters in native plays written between 1815 and 1829 is as follows:

I

1. There are included in the Wegelin bibliography between 1815 and 1829 the titles of about one hundred American plays. Not more than one-third of these treat American subjects, or contain noteworthy American characters.

Bibliography I contains a representative list.

2. The majority of the American characters are found in the historical-political plays, about one-third of them in the various pieces of comedy, and a scattering few in a half-dozen or more Indian dramas.

3. Of the dramatic characters that possess something of realistic importance the leading types are the Yankee and the political.

The Yankee type now for the first time begins to be a generally accepted stage-character. The rôle of Jonathan in Woodworth's "The Forest Rose," first played by Simpson, 1825, was one of the earliest successes. In 1828 the comedian J. H. Hackett first produced Solomon Swop, a character in which he won a reputation. The Yankee as presented by the comedians of the day is said to have been notably true to life; the part as it appears in the plays, however, seems greatly overdrawn and only now and then exactly true to originals. Of course, much of the fidelity to nature of a character can only be expressed in the acting.

The political characters are somewhat in the majority. The most of them appear in plays on past United States history, while several others occur in pieces on contemporaneous history, politics, and society. Only occasional characters seem wholly real.

4. Indian characters begin to appear with some frequency during the decade of the twenties.

This evident interest in Indian life may have offered a suggestion to John A. Stone who in 1829 wrote "Metamora" for Edwin Forrest.

5. Now and then an inferior piece contains characters taken from the commercial activities of the day.

These are some of the earliest attempts to dramatize American business situations.

6. Only a small number of fashionable society characters are encountered that are true to life.

II

In a few of the plays of this time there seems to be an effort to draw characters that are distinctively American.

The blunt-witted, democratic, level-headed Yankees are a product of native soil; General Jackson (in "The Eighth of January"), who is the rugged, shrewd, honest, equality-loving "Old Hickory" of United States history, embodies true American traits; and Henry Tudor (in "The Bucktails"), the substantial citizen who cares little about pedigree, scorns the hypocrisy of foreign society, and measures men by their own abilities and solid worth, has in many respects the correct republican attitude. Other less prominent characters with a native stamp could also be named.

III

Almost without exception the more finished dramas of this time treat subjects that forbid the realistic presentation of American characters.

The best play written between 1815 and 1829 was "Brutus" (1818) by John Howard Payne. This tragedy is a masterful production. Its plot, situations, and literary language have kept it on the stage almost down to the present, and in its leading rôle such actors as Edwin Forrest and Edwin Booth have appeared. It was the first great play by an American author.

CHAPTER II

REALISTIC CHARACTERS IN AMERICAN PLAYS WRITTEN BETWEEN 1829 AND 1845

An Epoch of Growth for Native Legitimate Drama and Plays Treating Native Themes

The subperiod between 1829 and 1845 may be called an epoch of growth for native legitimate drama and plays treating native themes. It was during these years that Edwin Forrest was triumphing both at home and in England, not only in famous Shakespearean parts but in the tragedy rôles of superior American plays which had been written at his instance.[1] Forrest was a leader of the "native American movement" of the half-century preceding the Civil War, and was particularly desirous of helping to create a dignified American drama.[2] Among the better plays that were written under his encouragement and in which he acted with success were Stone's "Metamora" (1829), Bird's "The Gladiator" (1837), and Conrad's "Jack Cade" (1839).[3] During this epoch there appeared several other plays on the Elizabethan model, which also showed definite development in native drama. Without doubt these were largely called forth by the splendid art of the Forrestian school[4] and the many visiting English actors. This activity all made for the growth of a pure American drama.

The tragedy of "Metamora," the leading character of which is an Indian chief, came out in 1829. Although Indian plays had frequently occurred earlier, it was not till Forrest's masterful acting in "Metamora" that the type became popular.[5] Such pieces were much in evidence on the native stage for the next decade and a half. Although they had the merit of handling American themes, within a few years the public grew tired of them.[6]

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[1] See *National Cyclopedia of Amer. Biography*, V:86.
[2] See Rees, B, 414.
[3] *Ibid.*, 412-431.
[4] See Winter, A, 44-45.
[5] See Hutton, A, 13.
[6] *Ibid.*, 18.

One of the noteworthy contemporaries of Forrest was the comedian James H. Hackett. In truth, the rise of distinctive American comedy may be in no small way attributed to him.[7] He had already become a favorite in Yankee rôles, particularly Solomon Swop in "Jonathan in England" (1828); he soon after added to his repertory the part of Rip Van Winkle, a character which he acted most humanly for thirty-five years; and a little later he impersonated with unbounded success Colonel Nimrod Wildfire, a Kentucky backwoodsman, in Paulding's "The Lion of the West" (1831).

The majority of the best native plays of this epoch—as the case had been, and continued for many years to be—are on foreign subjects. Among the best writers should be named John J. Bailey, David Paul Brown (1795-1875), Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1882), Robert Montgomery Bird (1803-1854), George Pope Morris (1802-1864), Epes Sargent (1813-1880), and Nathaniel Parker Willis (1806-1867). In a few of the plays of this time it is noticed that certain political and social forces are beginning to find expression.

Native actors, other than Forrest and Hackett, that came into prominence during these years were Henry Placide (1799-1870), a finished comedian,[8] Charlotte Cushman (1816-1876), long considered America's greatest actress,[9] and Charles Burke (1822-1854), who later won distinction in the rôle of Rip Van Winkle.[10] Noted English players on our stage, besides Macready and Booth, were James William Wallack, Clara Fisher, Charles Kean, Frances Anne Kemble, and William E. Burton.

As the closing date of this chapter the year 1845 is taken. By this time definite changes, new movements, and more or less independent composition are to be observed in American drama.

1. Yankee Characters

Although the examples of the Yankee given below are all exaggerations, at the same time they remind one of real persons and conditions.

Major Joe Bunker (Yankee officer, ably played by Hackett), "Down East" (1830).

Seth Sage (Yankee Patriot: postmaster, justice of the peace, inn-keeper, and captain of militia; says "I calculate we shall give the reg'lars a pretty considerabel damned smart drubbing"), Glover, "The Cradle of Liberty" (1832).

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[7] See Matthews and Hutton, 159 ff.

[8] See Matthews and Hutton, 145 ff.

[9] See Winter, A, 177.

[10] *Ibid.*, 93-94.

Jonathan Seabright (boatswain on the frigate Constitution; patriotic and alert; says, Ay! make any sacrifice to preserve the Union, save going to war about it. War is disunion and not union; and disunion can't be union, smite me! (p. 37)—Stevens, "The Patriot" (1834).

Solon Shingle (country teamster; droll, homely-witted, and good-natured; says, "darter," "caliker," "pester," and "apple sarse"; wears old-fashioned surtout with capes, gray trousers, lead-colored, striped vest, cow-hide boots, and broad-brimmed, low-crowned hat), Jones, "The People's Lawyer" (1839).

One of "Yankee" Hill's successes.

Horsebean Hemlock (Connecticut Yankee captain), Jones, "Captain Kyd" (1839).

Obediah Whitcher (Yankee servant to a Scotch baron), McLellan, "The Foundling" (1839).

Chipps (raw, ignorant voter), Heath, "Whigs and Democrats" (1839).

Hiram Dodge (broadly caricatured peddler who sells "inions, wooden cheeses, leather hams, pepper canisters, sassingers, mustard, pocket-books, and rat-traps"; quick-witted and tricky) and Jerusha (plain servant girl from Connecticut), Barnett, "Yankee Peddler" (1841).

Calvin Cartwheel ("drum-major in the Varmont Militia" with the Polish rebels), Steele, "The Brazen Drum" (1842).

Deuteronomy Dutiful (Yankee wool-dealer), Logan, "Vermont Wool-Dealer" (1844).

2. Indian Characters

More than two centuries had elapsed since the original introduction of the Indian into drama written in American territory.[11] More than a half-dozen Indian plays had appeared since the production of Ann Hatton's opera of "Tammany" in 1794. Yet it was not till Edwin Forrest's surpassing impersonation of the chief Metamora that Indian drama really came into its own.[12] This was in 1829, and for the next decade and a half there was a steady run of Indian plays. A complete bibliography of this time would show a score or so of such pieces, some of which possess special merit. Interest in aboriginal drama seems to have declined during the late forties, owing principally to excessive production. It is also noticed that at about the same time plays of a social, commercial, and political stamp were beginning to claim attention.

The examples of the Indian here given are not at all exhaustive, but are intended to be representative.

The principal Indian character of Stone's tragedy is the sagamore Metamora. This name is a modification of Metamocet (King Philip), the last of the Wampanoag tribe. He is represented with general historical accuracy,[13] possessing natural magnanimity, a haughty, resolute spirit, a deep sense of patriotism and justice, and a remarkable fidelity to friends and his duty as a tribe-leader. He is too proud a warrior and loves liberty too well to suffer the encroachments of the whites, or join in the advance of civilization;

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[11] See Part I, Chap. I, Sec. 1, note 1.

[12] See Hutton, "The American Play," *Lippincott's*, 37: 293.

[13] Cf. Bancroft, *Hist. of U. S.*, I:456-66.

he therefore feels a merciless vengeance against the intruders, opposes them with a desperate determination, and fearlessly dies pronouncing a curse upon them.

Nahmeoke, the wife of Metamora, is also an important character of this piece.

Another superior Indian play that contains something of the realistic is Custis's version of the Pocahontas story (1830.) The character of the princess is obviously idealized, resembling too closely a civilized maiden. Powhatan, the chief, seems to prefer peace, yet because of his wild, suspicious nature gives countenance to treachery against the distrusted pale-faces. He, however, is less revengeful than Matacoran, his chief counselor. Matacoran feels an implacable hatred toward the newcomers, proves himself a crafty, diplomatic adviser, possesses an unconquerably wild spirit, cherishes savage tradition, and fights for unmolested liberty and glory. Namontac, although he has visited Europe, still prefers the life of the forest; the priest superstitiously interprets the will of the divine Okee; Mantea is the simple-minded Indian wife of a white settler; and Omaya is an airy, imaginative young squaw.

Other Indian Characters

Carabasset (chief of the Norridgewoks in 1724; convert of Father Rallé; resents the mistreatment and duplicity of the whites; can hardly understand the doctrine of good for evil; reflects his contact with nature) and Taconet and Saugus (warriors), Deering, "Carabasset" (1830).

Tecumseh [14] (chief; high-tempered and fearless; bitterly resents a supposed wrong; scorns fatigue and cowardice; reveres beliefs of his ancestors; relies upon his weapons and prowess; speaks in fanciful terms), Prophet (Tecumseh's brother; superstitious and imaginative; believes in ghosts, sees the Great Spirit in all nature, approves of the sacrifice, and uses conjuration), and Maypock (impulsive, credulous, cold-blooded warrior), Emmons, "Tecumseh" (1836).

Pocahontas (artless Indian girl, reflecting the beauty, simplicity, and purity of her natural environment; possesses gentleness, faith, justice, and fidelity), Nomony (Pocahontas's sister), Powhatan (sachem; similar to Custis's Powhatan, but somewhat less hostile, revengeful, and crafty), Maccomac, counselor, and Powah, priest (suspicious, imaginative, custom-bound creatures), and Paspaho (guileless, humane young chief), Owen, "Pocahontas" (1837).

All the Indians of this excellent play are carefully drawn, and exhibit much of the sensitiveness, superstition, simple-mindedness, and general wildness of nature of the race.

Two Indian Chiefs—Bacon, "The Bride of Fort Edward" (1839).

Tecumseh (chief of the Shawanos and skillful warrior; shrewd, honest, eloquent, haughty, brave; dislikes the encroachments of the whites; feels a strong native patriotism; scorns the continuous greed of the "Yanghees"; hopes for a union of the tribes; has faith in "Manitou"—God; is not cruel by nature; possesses a superior intellect, and remains faithful to all the best traditions of his tribe), Elkswatawah (Prophet of the West; hypocritical twin-brother of Tecumseh), Stone-Eater (Shawanee chief), Melindah (female chief of the Ottawah), and four others—Jones, "Tecumseh and The Prophet of the West" (1844).

Jones's characters are largely products of the imagination.

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[14] Cf. Adams, *Hist. of U. S.*, II:78 ff.

Although the characterizations of this section range from the actual to the idealistic, in the majority of cases they are essentially true to Indian nature.

3. Frontier Characters

Virtually all the frontier characters are found in pieces treating historical subjects. One notable exception, however, is Colonel Nimrod Wildfire, a backwoodsman in Paulding's "The Lion of the West" (1831). The colonel is an unpolished but generous son of "Old Kentuck," and always keeps "primed for anything, from a 'possum-hunt to a nigger funeral." If he fails to find a fight every ten days he begins to feel "mighty wolfy about the head and shoulders." His sweetheart, Miss Petty Snag of Salt Lick, possesses a similar nature:

> There's no back-out in her breed, for she can lick her weight in wild-cats, and she shot a bear at nine years old.[15]

The redoubtable Nimrod is an exaggerated specimen of a class that really existed at the time.

An historical piece exhibiting further realism of the Kentucky frontier is Emmons's "Tecumseh" (1836). Here are presented three expert riflemen, Ralph, Arthur, and Franklin. They all drink whiskey, but seldom become intoxicated except on the Fourth of July and Washington's birthday. They feel an aversion to missionaries and "church-religion," but claim to have a religion of their own. This is, "not to stop the mail, to mind their own business, and to let others alone." They attend neighborhood gatherings such as log-rollings and political speeches. Ralph declares himself "part horse, part alligator, a touch of the steamboat, and a sprinkling of an earthquake," and when he attempts anything he always "goes the whole hog."

Other Frontier Characters
(Historical)

Guy of Godalmin (English refugee, who took part in condemnation of Charles II), Sir Arthur Vaughan (English loyalist who, after the execution of his royal master, retires in disgust to the colonies), Church (leader of colonial troops), Wolfe (blunt colonist), Horatio (Vaughan's long lost son), and Oceana (white maiden, befriended by Metamora), Stone, Metamora" (1829).

Rallé (French Catholic missionary; although accused of inciting the savages against the English, is in reality an earnest, God-serving man who has softened the Indians' asperities) and Agnes (settler's wife), Deering, "Carabasset" (1830).

Smith and Rolfe (as known to history) and Barclay (survivor of an earlier colonizing party; having an Indian wife, and children, prefers to remain among the natives whose ways he has adopted), Custis, "Pocahontas" (1830).

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[15] See *New York Mirror*, IX:102.

Laydon (Virginia colonist who has come to stay; supports Smith, sees good in the Indians, and feels certain of his opportunities), Anna Barras (female colonist, similar to Laydon whom she marries), and Gabriel Archer (faint-hearted, rebellious, untrustworthy member of Smith's council), Owen, "Pocahontas" (1837).

George Gray (young Patriot colonist of vicinity of Lake George), Mrs. Grey (widow of clergyman, and Patriot mother of the frontier), and Annie Grey (Patriot girl), Bacon, "The Bride of Fort Edward" (1839).

4. Military Characters [16]

Rigby (Bunker Hill veteran; mourns for his son who fell at the battle of Bunker Hill; although he is stiff of limb, wears green glasses, and has a wandering mind, he still keeps an erect stature), Stevens, "The Patriot" (1834).

Col. R. M. Johnson (democratic American officer at the Battle of the Thames), Emmons, "Tecumseh" (1836).

Generals Arnold and Schuyler, and American Soldiers (soldiers, ragged; many discouraged; some still hopeful), Bacon, "The Bride of Fort Edward" (1839).

General Benedict Arnold (turns traitor because of a desire for money and revenge), John Smithson (plain American soldier and serving man of Arnold: refuses to be bribed), and John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wert (plain, loyal countrymen who capture André), Breck, "West Point" (1840).

General Washington and Colonel Knowlton (historical), Trumbull, "The Death of Nathan Hale" (1842).

Col. Richard Johnson (commander of riflemen) and Capt. Donald (old sergeant of "Wayne's Army"), Jones, "Tecumseh and The Prophet of the West" (1844).

5. Political Characters

Some of the most realistic characters of the plays between 1829 and 1845 are found in the frequent political pieces.

a. The Public Official

General Harrison (Governor of Indiana; noble, just, and God-fearing; insists that the Indians shall keep off the lands of the whites; demands respect for the laws; admires Tecumseh's principles of honor), Jones, "Tecumseh and The Prophet of the West" (1844).

b. The Patriot

Ralph (native of Boston and zealous Patriot leader), Mike Mainsail (Yankee sailor; rough but patriotic), Job Pray (degenerate, who is a Patriot because the townspeople are), Doolittle (gawky Patriot sergeant), Agnes (sensible Patriot girl), and Nab (half-crazed woman, who is a friend of the people), Glover, "The Cradle of Liberty" (1832).

Adelaide (patriotic American maiden; niece of Mrs. Arnold), Breck, "West Point" (1840).

c. The Patriotic Citizen

Jack Moreton (son of a '76 hero, to whom he makes repeated reference; strong advocate of the Bunker Hill monument and anything that will keep the Revolutionary fathers' memory fresh) and Colonel Laurel (aged veteran of the Revolution; urges the people of the day not to disrupt the union which their fathers fought to form), Stevens, "The Patriot" (1834).

d. The Politician

Two important political plays in which the politician is realistically presented are Heath's "Whigs and Democrats" (1839) and Mathews' "The Politicians" (1840).

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[16] Since the military, frontier, and political characters of historical plays are often related, it has seemed best to include here only such as clearly belong to the military class.

Heath states in the preface to his comedy that he has "attempted to demonstrate that dramatic interest may be sustained by the delineation of simple, natural, every day circumstances," and that one of his motives is "to hold up to ridicule the despicable arts of demagogism . . . . which are now practiced to such a frightful extent in our country." His Major Roundtree is drawn from real life. The major passes as a thorough-going democrat, by his enemy is styled "a low pot-house politician," and controls all the illiterate voters of his neighborhood. He is unmannered and whimsical, believes in the virtues of bribery and liquor, and is sought by candidates whose election seems doubtful. The following excerpt will further characterize him:

MAJOR ROUNDTREE. (To his wife). I'm a county court magistrate, and have read the greater part of the Virginia Justice; a Major of Militia, and have studied considerable of military tactics; keeper of the Hickory Tree Ordinary, and know how to cast accounts; and last, though not least, Post Master under the Federal Government, and leader of the democracy—which last responsibility forces me to take at least three newspapers in order to keep my ideas constantly bright and perpendicular on politics.

MRS. R. If you'd only send off these lazy louts of the neighborhood who come here to listen to the newspapers and swill your liquor at free cost, we should hear less about Kate's bill for edication.

MAJOR R. Don't you know that newspapers are the very sunshine of democracy—the people's spy-glasses, by which they find out those muskrat politicians who are continually boring under the constitution? (p. 8.)

General Fairweather, in the same play, is a late democratic Member of Congress and candidate for re-election. In reality he is a "purse-proud aristocrat," but for political effect wears the mask of a common people's man. He is a finished palaverer and has perfected a system of political tactics. He says that a man should have two opinions: one for the people, and another for the closet; that a person should never quarrel with his bread and butter; that he should "learn to chime in with men's humors, prejudices, and delusions" (p. 26); that true charity begins at home; that it is well always to denounce good men when they are one's opponents; and that "it is one of the electioneering arts, to appear confident of success with the certain prospects of defeat" (p. 33).

Mr. Worthington is the general's opponent, and a staunch Federal Whig; although of aristocratic tastes, he considers voting a citizen's highest duty and privilege. Rowdie, Slang, and Bangall are specimens of the ignorant countrymen whom Roundtree controls. They give their votes to the man who pays them the most and treats them the best.

Mathews' comedy of "The Politicians" (1843) presents politicians as they were in New York.

Brisk, a candidate for alderman, and his political agent, Crowder, are fundamentally of the same character. They practice all kinds of knavery and double-dealing to effect their purposes, and consider the cost of keeping a soul and conscience much too high in their day. Brisk seeks the support of vagabonds, and to win it wears slovenly apparel and goes unshaven. Vote-getting is his single aim, and to realize his aspirations he avoids nothing but an open breach of the law. Below is an example of their political machination:

BRISK. How about the Revolutionary veteran? That's capital too good to be wasted.

CROWDER. He deposits the first vote on our side, and we think of bandaging one of his legs and placing a patch over his eye, to make the spectacle more imposing.

BRISK. If we could fix it to have his vote challenged by the other party, it would tell amazingly in our favor, and we would get out a placard at once—"Disgraceful! an old soldier dishonored!" and so forth.

CROWDER. It would afford a good opportunity to call our opponents ruffians, libelers, and miscreants, which should not be lost. (p. 12.)

Other Politician Characters

Col. Hardfare and Maj. Dauntless (Revolutionary veterans who complain against the reform system of President Jackson of "Yankee Doodle Court," and who would seek the glorification of Henry Clay), Botsford, "The Reign of Reform" (1830).

Sir Roderick Makefuss, Elder Lovely, Parson Raw-Limbs, 'Squire Deal-He-Knows, Farmer Dobbin, Major Hardface, Master Slander, General Hoax-'Em, and others (members of the Anti-Mason party of Vermont; they are represented as declaring that the book of a certain Morgan truthfully divulges all of the secrets of Freemasonry, and that this fraternity attempts to withstand justice, defy the law, set at naught the principles of self-government, and seize all the offices for themselves; the Anti-Masons are shown to be making use of this adverse sentiment, to dislodge Mason office-holders. Kendall, "The Doleful Tragedy of the Raising of Jo. Burnham" (1832).

Gudgeon (vain, superstitious, dishonest, coxcomb-like candidate for alderman), Botch (Gudgeonite paragrapher), Glib (spread-eagle haranguer), Old Crumb (elderly man who pretends not to care for the honor of office, yet easily persuades himself to become a candidate), Bill Baffin (stevedore, who controls riffraff votes), Joe Surge (ex-convict, with a certain following), and citizens (voters), Mathews, "The Politicians" (1840).

Planters (harsh masters who consider slaves chattels), Overseer (flogs, chains, and collars the slaves; denies that they have a soul), Captain (returns fugitive, for reward), 1st Bystander and Professor (maintain that all respectable churches support slavery), and Philander (philanthropist and Christian; imprisoned and branded for helping the slaves to freedom; identified as Jonathan Walker of Harwich, Mass.

From the branding scene, the prisoner in a pillory:

1ST BYSTANDER. There, the executioner raises the iron—it is down—hear it hiss down—how red the hand looks. Now, the laws are revenged. Did he make a noise?

2ND BYSTANDER. I heard a low, suppressed groan, that's all.

(A planter comes forward and speaks to a man in rags.)

PLANTER. I will give you ten dollars to tear the handkerchief from the criminal's face and throw eggs at him.[17] I could drink his heart's blood.

POOR MAN. You may drink it, if you like, and fire your rotten eggs in the bargain; I don't want to insult a poor man in distress, let him be where he will.

. . . . . .

(Planter turns to a black boy.)

PLANTER. You will do it, sirrah? I'll pay you.

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[17] Said to be a fact. See p. 41 of play.

BLACK BOY. No, tank ye, Massa; my heart aches bad enough now.—Little, "The Branded Hand" (1845).

6. Rural Characters

a. The Farmer

A scene of Vermont farm-life of the day is presented in "The Doleful Tragedy of the Raising of Jo. Burnham" (1832):

(A farm-house kitchen in the evening. Farmer Credulous reading Morgan's book [against Freemasonry]. Judy, his wife, paring apples in the corner. Aunt Debby, knitting, and Ichabod.)

CREDULOUS. Why, bless my body, what a set of varmints the Masons be. If one on 'em tell anything, the rest cut his throat in a giffin.

AUNT DEBBY. Oh dear, yes—they are the vilest set of critters that ever lived. I wonder they hav'n't killed one another all off, before this time.

JUDY. They would, if they hadn't hired a great many to join 'em. A'n't you glad, old man, they never got you into their plaguy hampers?

CRED. That I be. If they had got hold of me when neighbor Meanwell joined 'em, they would cut me into mince-meat before now—plague take 'em.

(Enter Farmer Hawkeye.)

HAWKEYE. Good evening, neighbor; what are you poring over there, pray?

Credulous explains, and Hawkeye begins to defend the fraternity. The conversation turns to the master Mason's oath:

JUDY. And that's all contrived on purpose to catch him, for you know a body can't keep a secret forever; and if he should only tell his wife, which would be entirely right, you know they'd strip out his gullet for him.

HAWK. But you know the women have nothing to do with Masonry, and no prudent man would disclose its mysteries to his wife; neither would a prudent wife ask her husband to do it.

AUNT D. A prudent man wouldn't tell his wife? A pretty story, that! Do you s'pose, Mr. Hawkeye, that if my old man (heaven bless him) had joined the Masons I should let him had one minute's peace, till he told me all about it?

HAWK. Perhaps not. . . . .

AUNT D. And who's a better right? I've no notion of having these plaguy Masons getting together nights and have such high times, and keep so darn'd sly about it.

CRED. Ichabod, bring up a bowl-full of the best apples, and a pitcher of cider. (Act II, Sc. 1.)

And the discussion continues.

Other Farmer Characters

'Squire Fuller easy-going plantation owner of Virginia; enjoys tobacco, liquor, and sports; particularly interested in horse-races), Barnett, "Yankee Peddler" (1841).

b. Other Rural Characters

Major Roundtree, Mrs. Roundtree, and their daughter Catharine in the comedy of "Whigs and Democrats" (1839) seem to be reproductions of real persons. The following conversation between the parents, just after the return of their daughter from boarding-school, will reveal the character of all three:

MRS. R. Your're an obstinate, contrary man, Mr. Roundtree—that you are. Our poor Kate has been at home three days from school, and there's nothing but constant grumbling about the trifling expense of her edication. It is barbarous treatment in you—and so it is.

MAJOR R. Trifling expense, did you say? Why, a whole year's clear profit of the Hickory Tree Tavern would hardly pay the huzzy's bills. And then, what's the good of it all?

She went away a snug, tidy country girl, ready to put her hand into any and everything—could either make a pudding or mend a stocking—and now she's come back a town flirt, with her head cram'd full of aristocratic notions about botany, natural philosophy, and all that. I'm sorry I didn't keep her at house-work, instead of sending her away to a Whig town to be corrupted.

MRS. R. Stuff! stuff! I tell you, Kate was quite an awkward thing when she left home, and hadn't a particle of learning except what she got from Mr. Supine. And what is she now but quite an accomplished young lady. Doesn't she talk French, play on the piany, dance like a top, draw and paint pretty landscapes, and understand all about the natur' of flowers? What more would you want? I'm astonished at your ignorance, Mr. Roundtree. (pp. 7-8.)

7. Man of Affairs Character

Winslow (dishonest merchant; hard-hearted and mercenary; assumes a "gentleman's" airs; oppresses the dependent; uses his clerks as tools; thinks that a tender conscience never acquires wealth), Jones, "The People's Lawyer" (1839).

8. Working Man Characters

Cowpens (tavern-keeper of Virginia; complains about hard times and poor business; jealous of his neighbor, and wishes him ill success), Barnett, "Yankee Peddler" (1841).

9. Fashionable Society Characters

The plays of this time contain comparatively few fashionable characters that are realistically significant.

a. The Beau

Charles (polished wooer), Barnett, "Yankee Peddler" (1841).
Capt. Oakley (fop), Logan, "Vermont Wool-Dealer" (1844).

b. The Lady

Maria (Virginia belle), Barnett, "Yankee Peddler" (1841).

Mrs. Gudgeon (vain wife of a superficial politician; humors her husband's foolish notions; becomes involved in questionable society affairs) and Kate Brisk (daughter of a tricky politician; longs for the wholesomeness of country life), Mathews, "The Politicians" (1843).

10. Servant Characters

Cato (servant of a late Member of Congress; having been in Washington, affects the deportment of a gentleman), Heath, "Whigs and Democrats" (1839).

Virez, Irvan, Beder, Fidelio, Mother, Ellenore (slaves of cruel masters), Little, "The Branded Hand" (1845).

11. Professional Characters

Slate-Stone (landlord, who is also a justice; unscrupulous, and ignorant of law), Long-Jaw (pettifogger, allied with Slate-Stone), and Demurrer (honest, well-informed lawyer), Kendall, "The Doleful Tragedy of the Raising of Jo. Burnham" (1832).

The court-scene [18] of Kendall's play is largely realistic, and intended as a thrust at certain lower Vermont courts.

Howard ("the people's lawyer"; has faith in laws, judges, and jurors; puts men above position; considers work dignified; champions the cause of the oppressed), Jones, "The People's Lawyer" (1839).

Supine (school master, of marked formality; somewhat opinionated; uses maxims, and quotes Latin; indulges himself with snuff and liquor), Heath, "Whigs and Democrats" (1839).

[18] See pp. 43-44, of the play.

Conclusion

The realistic presentation of American characters in native plays written between 1829 and 1845 is as follows:

I

1. Of about one hundred plays recorded by Wegelin and Roden for this epoch, at least twenty-five have some realistic significance.

Bibliography I contains all the important pieces.

2. Nearly half of the plays reflecting American life are based on past historical events. Most of the other half, which are principally comedies, have a certain political import.

3. The predominant realistic characters belong to the Yankee, the Indian, the frontier, and the political groups.

The numerous Yankee characters, while they are virtually all broad caricature, at the same time seem to reproduce existing persons with essential verity.

Indian characters, both idealized and real, appear in large numbers. Fundamentally they seem as true to life as a general personal acquaintance or the best historical information would make possible. Of course, the dramatic Indians often speak and act as natives would not; yet one can not help feeling that the characterizations are fairly accurate, especially for a time when declamatory acting was in favor.

Frontier characters are found in nearly all of the Indian plays. What has just been said about the realism of the Indians will apply for the most part to the frontier specimens.

Special interest was shown also in a backwoodsman type of what was then the West. The best representative is Col. Nimrod Wildfire, found in Paulding's "The Lion of the West" and excellently impersonated by J. H. Hackett.

The political characters, especially those of the politician type, are drawn with a good deal of fidelity to the real.

4. Realistic fashionable society types are seldom presented.

When fashionable characters do appear, they are usually of the stock variety.

5. The playwrights of these years show small interest in the realism of commercial life as a source of play-material.

II

While something of American nationality is to be observed in the frontier, the rural, and the political groups, there appears no single character that seems to combine our distinctive national traits sufficiently.

The plain, good-natured, yet "primed for anything" Colonel Nimrod Wildfire bears the American stamp; the firm, dependable, just General Harrison (in "Tecumseh and The Prophet of the West") represents certain American elements; Major Roundtree, the unpolished pot-house politician, and General Fairweather, the purse-proud political palaverer (in "Whigs and Democrats"), are not more indigenous to some other land; and the simple-natured farmer Credulous (in "The Doleful Tragedy of the Raising of Jo. Burnham") has had numerous American prototypes.

III

This epoch can hardly be said to have produced any realistic plays of highest quality.

Stone's "Metamora" was long successful, but most of the credit falls to the tragedian Edwin Forrest. Custis's "Pocahontas" was well received in its day, and Owen's "Pocahontas" shows mastery in composition, but both are forgotten. Mathews' "The Politicians" deserves more attention than it has received.

CHAPTER III

REALISTIC CHARACTERS IN AMERICAN PLAYS WRITTEN BETWEEN 1845 AND 1860

An Epoch of Significant Creative Activity in American Drama

The fifteen years just preceding the Civil War contributed more to native drama in a creative and constructive way than any others that had gone before. Owing partly to the intellectual advancement on every hand and partly to patriotic aspirations for the United States along lines of art-development, there seemed to be forming among all classes of native authors an increasing conviction of the need of a more original, more professional, and more finished American drama. Such a movement had been gathering force ever since the War of 1812, and had already produced not a few meritorious plays. Among the pieces that had grown in popular favor was an extended series of Indian dramas, although as early as 1845 a reaction had evidently set in against such.

A noteworthy occurrence of these late antebellum days was the rise of a native species of high comedy which undertook to set on the stage with considerable verisimilitude the more striking characteristics of the fashionable society and business life of the time. The first superior play of this kind was Mrs. Anna Cora Mowatt's (1822-1870) "Fashion," produced at the Park Theatre, New York, in 1845 and repeated for many seasons with signal success.[1] Numerous other pieces of like nature soon followed, among which should be mentioned Mrs. Sidney F. Bateman's "Self" (1856), a comedy which exhibits clear characterization, easy dialogue, and skillful technique. Many of these society plays show the touch of constructive craftsmen in the manipulation of the subject matter, and were doubtless preparatory to the more significantly realistic pieces treating American subjects, which made their appearance a few years after the Civil War.

The climax in native dramatic composition of really original and artistic quality was reached in the finished tragedies of George

[1] See Hutton, A, 53-60.

Henry Boker (1823-1890), especially in his "Calaynos" (1848) and "Francesca da Rimini" (1853). These two dramas, while they are well adapted to acting, are also of recognized merit as literature. They are the best of some score of ambitious American plays since John Howard Payne's "Brutus" (1818), most of which contain a certain acting and literary excellence and are largely indebted to the Forrestian school and contemporary actors for their inspiration and vigorous execution.

In the realm of native low comedy definite progress was also being made. Though Yankee characters, which still kept a strong hold upon the stage, were almost the exact portraiture of their predecessors, new and clever ideas were shining forth in other quarters. Beginning with 1848 and continuing down to the present there was staged a long list of plays which had their setting in New York and reproduced to the life well-known New York types of the less refined order. The most conspicuous of these local characters, in the beginning, was Mose, one of the volunteer fire-boys, who was a profane bully, always "bilin' over for a rousin' good fight." The comedian Chanfrau was the master interpreter of Mose's character, and made the early local pieces successful beyond expectations.[2] Another actor, who at the same time was an excellent playwright, was the Irishman John Brougham (1810-1880). He came to the United States in 1842, and thereafter for the rest of his life closely identified himself with the American theater and exerted upon it an influence altogether wholesome. "He was the first author to put life into the playbills, besides being one of the best comedians of the day, and though he was born an Irishman his work was essentially American, especially his inimitable burlesques, Pocahontas and Columbus." [3]

Another feature of the American drama prior to 1860 was the common utilization of it for political purposes. Headed by the dramatization of Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" (1852), frequent plays—and these more often adaptations from novels [4]—that championed the cause of the abolitionists were put on the boards

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[2] See Hutton, A, 48-51.

[3] *The New International Encyclopedia*, VI:442.

[4] It is interesting to note that about this time the dramatization of novels was becoming a prevalent practice, a custom which has continued and which has undoubtedly been "stifling rather than stimulating" to the drama of our own day. See A. H. Thorndike, *The Americana*, VII: Drama-America.

and became an immediate cause of the breach between the North and the South.

Between 1845 and 1860 some of the abler American playwrights besides those already named are Dion Boucicault (1822-1890), Thomas Halley Chivers (1807-1858), Julia Ward Howe (1819-1910), Oliver S. Leland, Cornelius Mathews (1817-1889), George Henry Miles (1824-1871), William Gilmore Simms (1806-1870), and Edward G. P. Wilkins. Noteworthy American and English actors not previously mentioned are E. L. Davenport, John McCullough, and Edwin Booth, in tragedy; Joseph Jefferson, Lester Wallack, Edward A. Sothern, and John T. Raymond, in comedy. Excellent actresses of the time were Mrs. Mowatt, Matilda Heron, Laura Keene, and Maggie Mitchell.

1. Yankee Characters

The Yankee as a stage-character continued to keep the stage down to the outbreak of the Civil War. Between 1845 and 1860 the type appeared in many pieces of low comedy, and was in the repertory of the leading American comedians. In general, the character remains the same as in earlier years, being usually a broad caricature and often little more than a theatrical clown of native origin. In spite of exaggeration, however, there is much that seems to suggest the real. The following are representative examples taken from the plays written after 1845; the Yankee rôles of earlier comedies were also frequently represented.

Jedediah ("clear grit" captain), Bannister, "Putnam, the Iron Son of '76" (1845).

Adoram Snubb and Tibitha Bruce (Yankee Shakers), Johnson, "The Shaker Lovers" (1849).

Our Jemimy (Connecticut girl; plain, homely, and vulgar; full of ideas and schemes), Conway, "Our Jemimy" (185-).

Zachary Westwood (wealthy, democratic New York farmer; honest, cheerful, shrewd; of good sense and dry humor) and Jemima Chase (servant girl; characterizes self thus:

I am a free American girl, and my folks is respectable. I can keep my character and earn my living, and don't allow myself to be inferior to nobody.)—p. 53, Pardey, "Nature's Nobleman" (1851).

Hiram Hireout (servant), Conway, "Hiram Hireout" (1852).

Gumption Cute (Vermont overseer of Southern plantation; tricky, sharp-witted, and always looking for a speculation; harsh toward the slaves; travels with a bundle on a stick) and Ophelia (Yankee old-maid housekeeper; energetic, easily vexed, and puritanic; dislikes negroes, yet urges Southerners to treat them better; has little use for sentiment), Aiken, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" (1852).

Truman Smelts (policeman who will not arrest a man that votes his ticket), Chase, "The Young Man About Town" (1854).

Jasper Slack (Yankee Patriot in the Boston Tea Party), Brougham, "The Irish Yankee" (1856).

Neighbor Jackwood (Vermont farmer and abolitionist; stands for humanity, and assists the negro fugitives), Enos Crumlett (speculating Vermonter), Mrs. Jackwood ("a gre't fretter"), Grandmother Rigglesty (crotchety grandmother, with a "crick in her back"), and Ma-

tilda Fosdick (raw Yankee girl), Trowbridge, "Neighbor Jackwood" (1857).

Seth Swap (Maine Yankee, returning from Mexican silver mines), Ballou, "Miraldi" (1858).

Salem Scudder and Jacob McCloskey (Yankee overseers of Southern plantation; the latter is a political demagogue), Boucicault, "The Octoroon" (1859).

2. Indian Characters

Although a feeling of revolt had set in against Indian drama after less than twenty years (1829-46) of prominence, during the decade of the fifties there also appeared a few dramatic pieces containing Indian characters.

Oneactah (chief; just, generous, and fatherly; imaginative and visionary; resents mistreatment, with a vengeance) and Naragantah (virtuous, wild-natured girl), Bannister, "Putnam, the Iron Son of '76" (1845).

Conanchet (chief of the Narragansetts) and Uncas (impetuous chief of the Mohicans),—"The Wept of the Wish-Ton-Wish" (1850?).

Dahcomah (chief of the Kioways; alert and cunning; admires bravery; never forgets a kindness; fears the U. S. soldiers), English, "The Mormons" (1853).

Tonawaha (chief whose lands have been seized; says:

Pale-faces come, take our land, and drive us away. Pale-faces give us hot red-water, which make our heart feel bad and burn us up. Ugh! Den dey bring us good book, to tell 'bout Great Spirit, and make us good.—p. 59)—Preuss, "Fashions and Follies of Washington Life" (1857).

Wahnotee (treacherous, rum-loving, blood-thirsty Indian), Boucicault, "The Octoroon" (1859).

3. Frontier Characters

Frontier characters are seldom found in the plays of this time, and such as do occur seem to be largely incidental. Of more than ninety plays examined fewer than a half-dozen contain frontier characters of any realistic significance.

Phineas Fletcher (rough, fearless, witty, generous Kentuckian; uses tobacco and whiskey freely; decides slavery is wrong, frees his slaves, and helps the fugitives to escape), Aiken, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" (1852).

Gideon Bodish and Ambla Bodish (son and mother accused of witchcraft), Thomas Topsfield, Deacon Perfect Gidney, Justice Fisk, Jarvis Dane, Goodwife Prawl, and others (accusers, with various motives), Mathews, "Witchcraft" (1852).

These characters are merely suggestive of the witchcraft fanaticism of the late 17th century.

Ambrose Woodville, Lucy Woodville, and Mary Blandford (credulous, well-meaning prairie people, who almost become victims of Mormonism), Catherine Nogg (Mormon wife, resigned to her condition), Godfrey Blair, Joe Brown, Skinner Hyde (outlaws, who have become Danites), Walter Markham (trapper, of high principle; enemy of Mormonism), and Whiskey Jake (alert scout of the plains; faithful to friends, unmerciful to enemies; scoffs at Mormonism, has an original mind, and speaks Western lingo; addicted to whiskey and gaming), English, "The Mormons" (1853).

Pike County Jess [5] (rough, uneducated miner of the South and West; just, generous, dependable; speaks Western dialect, and favors Western justice), John Wilson (honest poor man who went to California in '49, found Westerners hospitable, became wealthy), Cash and Dice (outlaw gamblers of Sacramento; impose upon greenhorn miners; shoot a man, if they can not cheat him out of his money; think a "shooting" will soon "blow over"; want no preaching; give up without a murmur, when overpowered), Mary Wilson ("the live woman in the mine"; honest, kind-hearted wife; sees the good qualities of the rough miners). High Betty Martin

[5] *cf.* Schouler, *Hist. of U. S.*, V:133 ff.

("Amazonian of the Western plains"; very illiterate, resourceful, fearless; indomitably persevering, expert with the pistol, jealous of her lover), postmaster, printer, express-rider, and others—"A Live Woman in the Mines" (1857).

Black Jim (border ruffian, stabbed by John Brown), Swayze, "Ossawattomie Brown" (1859).

4. Military Characters

A number of plays based on United States history were written between 1845 and 1860, and among the more favored subjects the Arnold and André incident seems to have taken the lead. Below I mention four such pieces. General Washington and other well-known Patriot officers were also frequently represented. Now and then we find examples of contemporary military types. The realism of all these characters is for the most part negligible.

Major Putnam (blunt, fearless Patriot; sympathetic, honest, faithful; impatient with the faint-hearted) and General Washington (great-souled Patriot leader; prudent, merciful, fair-minded; relies upon his countrymen), Bannister, "Putnam, the Iron Son of '76" (1845).

Colonel Howard (U. S. Army officer; good-natured and straightforward), Mowatt, "Fashion" (1845).

Colonel Diamond ("colonel of militia, ... candidate to Congress, foe to all monarchs," etc.), Raux, "The Road to Fortune" (1846).

Major Arnold (impetuous officer), Paulding, Van Wert, and Williams (plain but loyal countrymen), and other American officers—Hubbell, "Arnold" (1847; Orton, "Arnold" (1851); Holland, "The Highland Treason" (1852); Lord, "André" (1856).

Captain Cannon (U. S. officer; courteous, firm, direct; prefers action to words) and Sergeant McFajin (patriotic Irish-American), English, "The Mormons" (1853).

Generals Washington, Mercer, and Conway, and other officers—Brougham, "The Miller of New Jersey" (1856).

General Washington,—Burnett, "Blanche of Brandywine" (1858).

Major MacMuddle (U. S. officer of the day; his air and attitude come out in the following:

Major MacMuddle, his friend Smirkton, and Senor Valiente, a rich Mexican, are present at a fashionable New York ball.

MAC. Let's roast the Mexican.

. . . . . .

SMIRK. Don't spoil the supper—don't be rude.

MAC. Rude? I rude? MacMuddle rude? Stand aside. Just let me take him down an inch or two. No fear of a row. There's no fight in the whole nation. . . . . (Fronting Valiente.) You gave me the back of your uniform a while ago, Senor. Is that *still* your habit with American officers? (Aside.) You see, Smirk, I do it delicately. . . . . Senor, how did you ever happen to let Scott, Taylor, and the rest of us lick you so damnably? You see, Smirk, I do it *delicately*.—pp. 24-25),—Miles, "Senor Valiente" (1858).

5. Political Characters

Political characters are numerous in the plays of this time. They are as various as they could easily be, ranging from Colonial types down to the politicians of the late fifties. A few are very real, although the most are simply meant to suggest actual persons.

a. The Public Official

John Sharker (rascal government clerk) and Bill Sly (petty government official; poor man who "got a 'pintment"; tool of Sharker), Preuss, "Fashions and Follies of Washington Life" (1857).

b. The Patriot

Nathan Hale (Patriot captain of true stamp; dies saying, "Would that I had another life to give thee, O my country!"), Deacon Hale (God-trusting, self-denying, hopeful Patriot father; resolves to "lay my son, my Isaac, on my country's altar"), Alice (Patriot girl, betrothed to Hale), and Scholars of Hale,—Trumbull, "The Death of Captain Nathan Hale" (1842).

Edward Stanton (Patriot soldier of refined type), Ebenezer O'Donahoo (fighting Irish Patriot), and Emma Rutland (true-hearted, serious, sensible Patriot girl), Brougham, "The Irish Yankee" (1856).

Seth Peabody (Miller and Yankee bush-fighter, opposing the Hessians), Hiram Peabody (bush-fighter, who becomes a captain), Mrs. Peabody (mother, who gives sons to cause of liberty), and Judith Wilson (almost crazed wife whose husband has suffered torture from British), Brougham, "The Miller of New Jersey" (1856).

Franklin (self-made philosopher, statesman, philanthropist, and Patriot; plain and direct in manner and speech; puts economy, common sense, and practicality into everything; moralizes and uses pithy phrases; scorns sham), Brougham, "Franklin" (1856).

Captain Walter Armstrong (genuine Patriot) and Rose Elsworth (Patriot girl; ingenious, independent, frank; conscious of her individual powers), Bunce, "Love in '76" (1857).

Randulf (Patriot leader), John Walford (quiet Patriot helper), Krout (awkward, rum-drinking Pennsylvania German, but loyal follower of Washington), and Blanche (spirited Patriot girl), Burnett, "Blanche of Brandywine" (1858).

c. The Tory

Adkins (Tory; satisfied with a king; fears England's power; objects to being called a rebel; thinks first of all of himself and preferment), Trumbull, "The Death of Captain Nathan Hale" (1842).

Harry Stanton (Tory officer; honestly believes Patriots wrong), Brougham, "The Irish Yankee" (1856).

Lieutenant Harry Elsworth (Tory, with some feeling for the Patriots), Apollo Metcalf (Tory school teacher, who lives among his patrons; has rebellious pupils), and Kate Elsworth (Tory daughter, who thinks the Patriots boors), Bunce, "Love in '76" (1857).

d. The Patriotic Citizen

John Flitch (champion of republicanism), Raux, "The Road to Fortune" (1846).

Mr. Erskine (N. Y. millionaire who is proud of his citizenship; considers it American to be frank, direct, and not too polite; builds on honesty and common sense; opposes foreign marriages; is glad to be "under the froth and above the dregs") and Doctor Stubbs (somewhat solid American who ridicules the native "mushroom gentry"), Gould, "The Very Age!" (1850).

Mr. Felix Umbraton (good citizen; sensible, frugal, independent, and considerate of others; finds happiness in a clear conscience and a peaceful, honest life; detests the shams of fashion; enjoys luxury to the extent good sense and his purse will allow; measures men by mind, morality, and merit), Walcot, "A Good Fellow" (1854).

e. The Politician

Characters of the true politician type appear in the following taken from Preuss's "Fashions and Follies of Washington Life" (1857):

Colonel Delaney, an elderly Whig government clerk, engages in earnest political argument with his bosom friend, Captain Jack Smith, who is a retired politician, something of an old fogy, and a zealous Jacksonian Democrat.

COL. D. Now, I should like to know if we wouldn't have gone to the devil long ago, if it hadn't been for the old Federal party?

CAPT. S. Gone to the devil? All I have to say is, that those who believe in Federalism had better keep its company—for *that* certainly has gone to the devil!

COL. D. There you are again dodging the point; why, what was the condition of the country after the Revolution? No money in our coffers—a heavy debt—no credit or respect abroad—a weak, rickety government at home, falling to pieces because it hadn't the strength

of Hamilton, who taught the doctrine of *union and consolidation*. It was through Hamilton and the old Federal party that the General Government was made strong enough to "walk alone."

CAPT. S. Walk alone? Yes, and that was about all it ever could do under Federalism —but it was the Jeffersonian Democracy, sir, that infused new life into her, that enabled her not only to walk alone, but to *run* alone—ay, sir, to *fly* alone, until her proud eagle now flaps its wings in the very palaces of European despots! Yes, sir, Jeffersonian Democracy has done this; if it hasn't, I'll swallow my head!

Soon a dispute arises over the virtues of Clay and Jackson:

CAPT. S. Do you dare to compare General Andrew Jackson with a man who has sold his body and soul for an office?

COL. D. It's false, sir! false as the heart that fabricated it! Henry Clay was too pure, too great a man for that—and mark my words, Jack Smith, posterity will seal my verdict! No, sir! Henry Clay is one of nature's noblemen; his reputation is not like a dandy's coat or a woman's bustle—made up of cotton padding! He never dodged his foe behind *cotton bales!*

CAPT S. Cotton bales! blood and thunder! Who dare say that General Jackson dodged behind cotton bales?

COL. D. I dare say so! When he fought Packenham at New Orleans.

CAPT. S. It's a lie—a damned lie! Leave my house, sir! (pp. 11-13.)

They finally drink and make up, before parting.

Other Politician Characters

Norman Maurice (rising politician and lawyer of Missouri; champion of the common people; trusts in God, and stands for justice in all things; refuses to be bullied by corrupt politicians; adopts the following creed:

> I will not seek for office on conditions
> Adverse to right and manhood. I will never
> Become the creature of a selfish party—
> Never use wealth or fraud to rise to power—
> Never use power itself to keep in power,
> Nor see in him who favored my ascent
> A virtue not his own! Nor can I offer
> One tribute to the vulgar vanity!
> I will not bow, nor smile, no deference yield,
> Where justice still withholds acknowledgment.—p. 81.)

and Colonel Blasinghame ("fire-eater" and political "boss"), Simms, "Norman Maurice" (1851).

Mr. Wilson (negro sympathizer, who opposes law-breaking, yet aids the fugitives to escape), Aiken, "Uncle Tom' Cabin" (1852).

Marcus Tullius Cicero (Northern Senator who vigorously opposes slavery), Poltroonius Servilius [6] (craven-hearted Southerner who in the Senate assaults Tullius "with his bludgeon"), Anchises, Publius Quixot, Gigantius Sancho, Mundsonius, Mendacious (Southern supporters of Poltroonius), Henricus and Wadensius (Northern Senators who called the assault "brutal, murderous, cowardly"), Spittelius (Northern delegate who believes Tullius has really been too outspoken), and Hannibal Chollops (Southern orator, who proclaims Poltroonius King of Palmatia and Exemplar of Palmatian Chivalry), Head, "Poltroonius" (1856).

John Brown (represented as a high-purposed abolitionist leader; his "sole object was to free the slaves, from motives of philanthropy"—p. 25), Swayze, "Ossawattomie Brown" (1859).

f. Other Political Characters

Cowardly 'Squire, Fearful Lawyer, and Solid Farmer (colonists), Trumbull, "The Death of Nathan Hale" (1842).

6. Rural Characters

a. The Farmer

Cabbageall (cowardly countryman, willing to be either Tory or Patriot according to prospects of safety) and Mrs. Cabbageall (shrew-wife, who though attached to her husband, enjoys quarreling with him), Bannister, "Putnam, the Iron Son of '76" (1845).

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[6] Cf. Elson, *Hist. of U. S.*, 589-90; McMaster, *Hist. of the People of U. S.*, VIII:243 ff.

Adam Trueman (somewhat refined Yankee farmer from Catteraugus; blunt, shrewd, witty; economical, independent, well-to-do; scorns the sham of fashion; prefers modesty, openness, and common sense; says "critter," "plaguy," "turned in," and "on the spot"; advises Tiffany, the merchant, thus:

The next time you choose a confidential clerk, take one that carries his credentials in his face.—p. 19, Mowatt, "Fashion" (1845).

St. Clare (wealthy, refined, easy-going, kind-hearted slaveholder; likes negroes about him, and considers them a blessing; is somewhat intemperate), Aiken, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" (1852).

b. Other Rural Characters

William Gilmore (youthful Shaker, determined to rescue self and sweetheart from hypocrisy of Shaker faith), Martha Hilson (innocent Shaker girl who wants to do right and suffers under the restraint of a deluded sect), and Abigail Disbrow (elderly Shaker sister, who is painfully pious), Johnson, "The Shaker Lovers" (1849).

Abundance Skunk (plain, prolific country mother),—"The Wept of the Wish-Ton-Wish" (1850?).

Deacon Perry (stiff, puritanic, hypocritical N. E. deacon; abhors contact with negroes), Aiken, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" (1852).

Mrs. Franklin (Benjamin Franklin's mother; sensible, old-fashioned lady; economical, practical, and hospitable; uses terse expressions), Brougham, "Franklin" (1856).

Deacon Peek (postmaster of New Canaan; knows everybody and everything; refers to the "good old days"; sells brandy), Conway, "Our Jemimy" (185-).

7. Man of Affairs Characters

Mrs. Mowatt's "Fashion" containing Mr. Tiffany, the upstart New York merchant, was first produced in 1845. Prior to this time there are few instances of the use of American business characters in native drama. Though commercial life in the United States had been long developing in an interesting way, it had seldom before proved attractive to dramatists. But during the fifteen years leading up to the Civil War plays presenting business and industrial types occurred by dozens. This is more interesting when it is recalled that later, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the business play was to become one of America's most distinctive forms of dramatic writing.[7]

The following characters amply illustrate the man of affairs type of antebellum days.

Mr. Tiffany, as seen in "Fashion," is chiefly engaged in "making money on the true American high-pressure system." He is stingy and sordid; grumbles at the demands of his fashionable family whose extravagance has made him a bankrupt, and in his financial difficulties does not scruple to act dishonorably.

An excellent comedy which contains four fairly realistic business men is Bateman's "Self" (1856). The first is John Unit, a retired banker. He is plain, honest, generous, prudent, and high-motived. "Does it pay?" usually determines his course of action.

[7] See Matthews, A, "Bronson Howard."

He believes in the virtue of work, thinks for himself, advises freely, and hates all folly and pretention. He speaks with telegraphic brevity, and often uses proverbs. A sample of his dialogue follows:

CYNOSURE. (A traveled American.) I don't care who knows that my father was a successful tailor. It is quite fashionable in Paris to laugh at pedigree, and talk about merit and not money, and all that sort of thing—eh—oh!—ya-as!

UNIT. That is the first Parisian fashion I ever thought worth following. But that is too vulgar a theory for us Republicans. Upstarts here make money by cheating government in contracts, swindling Indians with glass beads and bad whiskey—lucky investments in old cabbage-gardens—all ends in the same thing—children grow up and are the "first people"—ride in carriages with livery servants—take daughters to big hotels, Saratoga and Newport, on exhibition, to be knocked down to the highest bidder! Sons are idle spendthrifts, and bring the family down again to poverty! . . . . No, sir, never can be made to pay! (p. 29.)

Mr. Apex, the second character, represents a merchant, bankrupt by the social life of his second wife and step-son. He is proud, liberal, and covetous of attention. Although he does not countenance excesses, he is greatly pleased with his wife's fine appearance. He complains about his reverses, especially since he has an inordinate desire for social position. Mr. Promptcash is a self-made dry-goods merchant who keeps his eye centered on the dollar. Being mercenary and dishonest himself, he takes a distrustful attitude toward others. He is plain of speech and manner, and loses patience with customers who merely come to look. Mr. Ellwide passes as the dishonest, crafty, flattering merchant. He studies the whims and fancies of his customers, then conducts his business accordingly.

Other Man of Affairs Characters

Peter Legrand (business man; disgusted with fashion; brought to bankruptcy by the extravagance of his family), Raux, "The Road to Fortune" (1846).

Robert Hollybush (retired N. Y. merchant; frank, clear-headed, serious; has a horror of debt, and distrusts young men who have nothing to do; politically, stands for anti-slavery and free-trade) and Duperu (honorable broker), McCracken, "Earning a Living" (1849).

Haley and Legree (slave-traders, representing business men of degraded character. They are hard-hearted, material-minded, and immoral; feel an interest in only such people as are likely to become profitable customers; use religion for commercial purposes; and follow the slave-traffic with a devilish delight), Aiken, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" (1852).

Mr. Granite (greedy, hard-hearted merchant) and Mrs. Grimgriskin (cold, grasping landlady; her principle, "Business is business"), Brougham, "Temptation" (1856).

Uncle John (slave-holder; rough, but "jolly, good-hearted old trump"; old-fashioned and frank; is not a professed Christian, and occasionally swears and blusters; thinks a layman often has more religion than a Christian; complains about the politics of the times; is some what harsh with the negroes, and has no patience with "poor white trash"), Brougham, "Dred" (1856).

Skinneflynte Codfishe, Esq. (purse-proud business man and "lion-hunter"; speculates upon the earnings of the poor while pretending sympathy), Brougham, "Life in New York" (1856).

Jacob Milledollar (bank president; vain parvenu) and Peter Funk (speculator; "determined to be a millionaire, has driven smart bargains, travelled everywhere, done everything, shaved notes, joined churches, squeezed his best friends"), Mathews, "False Pretences" (1856).

Mr. Ten-per-cent (retired merchant; addicted to note-shaving; wants to go to Congress; afflicted with a fashionable wife), Mr. Airy Froth, A.B. ("Napoleon of Blowers"; agent for politicians, artists, and such), and Mr. Nutgalls (critical editor of the "Daily Scorcher"), Wilkins, "Young New York" (1856).

Gideon Bloodgood (calculating, iron-hearted banker and so-called financier; reduces salaries because other employers do; does not fear any disgrace from bankruptcy, for Americans soon forget such; though rich, is scorned by the best wealthy society) and Captain Fairweather (retired, well-to-do business man, of noble character), Boucicault, "The Poor of New York" (1857).

Arthur Morris (selfish business man; leaves wife at home alone most of the time; when with his family, buries himself in a newspaper, or falls asleep; is attracted by women inferior to his wife), Hurlbert, "Americans in Paris" (1858).

Flintleigh (Wall Street man of affairs), Miles, "Senor Valiente" (1858).

8. Working Man Characters

Industrial characters seldom appear in native plays before 1845, but following this date they are encountered frequently. In some instances it would seem, as in Brougham's "Life in New York" (1856), they are used with the object of giving a hint of actual conditions among working people. In the majority of cases, however, they occur rather incidentally in pieces that treat phases of business life, fashionable society, or political conditions.

Snobson (clerk; raw, surly, bullying; speaks slang, uses liquor, and stoops to any meanness) and Gertrude (governess; virtuous, sensible, and honest; original, courageous, and industrious; hates so-called society; prefers the freedom of nature), Mowatt, "Fashion" (1845).

Mose (New York volunteer fire-boy; known as "one of the b'hoys"; referred to as "fightin' Mose"; chews tobacco, spits frequently, and is always "bilin' over for a rousin' good fight"; has "a peculiarly sardonic curve of the lip, expressive of . . . . impudence, self-satisfaction, suppressed profanity, and general cussedness";[8] stands by his fellow-fire-boys, and delights in outracing the other fire-engines; speaks in a distinctive fashion, illustrated by the following:

I've made up my mind not to run wid der machine anymore. There's that Cornell Anderson, don't give de boys a chance. Jest 'cause he's Chief Ingineer he thinks he can do as he likes. (p. 9.) He denies by saying "No sir-ree!", addresses a friend as "old hoss," and uses such expressions as "If you want my company, you'll have to hurry up your cakes" (p. 25), and Newsboys (saucy, loud, and tricky), Baker, "A Glance at New York" (1848).

Mose, as played by Chanfrau, was a success of many seasons.

Sterling (faithful, untiring old clerk who has sacrificed his whole life to his employer's interest), Tom Bobolink (truckman; happy in a humble home, yet envious of the rich; wants to be honest, though often tempted to be otherwise) and Polly Bobolink (plain, honest, sunny-faced wife of Tom), Brougham, "Temptation" (1856).

John Cripps (speculator in sundries, and general trader in a small way; specimen of Southern "poor white trash"; has a big family; calls education "a Yankee hoax"; sells patent medicines, and believes in their virtue; complains that the world is unkind; possesses a sort of generosity), Mrs. Cripps (John's wife; patient and long-suffering; believes in churches and schools; dies from ignorant, brutal treatment of her good-for-nothing husband), and Ben Dakin and Jim Stokes (slave-hunters; use dogs, and quarrel about the quality of the canines; think "business is business, and religion will have to wait"), Brougham, "Dred" (1856).

Fanny (poor sewing girl; honest, industrious, ambitious; because of dependence, often insulted by wealthy men) and Four-Cent Man, Apple Woman, and Newsboys,—Brougham, "Life in New York" (1856).

Paul (honest clerk who is willing to work but can not find it), Puffy (baker; ignorant but honest, generous, and resigned to hard times), Dan (well-intentioned blunderbuss of a laborer), and Edwards (dependent, machine-like clerk), Boucicault, "The Poor of New York" (1857).

The time of Boucicault's play is supposed to be the commercial panics of 1837 and 1857.

Dickson (brutal pursuer of fugitive slaves; a "kidnaper"), Trowbridge, "Neighbor Jackwood" (1857).

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[8] Hutton, A, 51.

Newsboy and Hackman,—Wainwright, "Wheat and Chaff" (1858).

Colonel Pointdexter (business-like auctioneer, who knows how to lay baits for bidders), Boucicault, "The Octoroon" (1859).

Reporter (for New York paper; visits John Brown in prison). Swayze, "Ossawattomie Brown" (1859).

9. Fashionable Society Characters

Between the production of "Fashion" (1845) and the opening of the Civil War there were more American plays written which contain native fashionable-society characters—in varying degrees of fidelity to the real—than any other kind. Of some sixty pieces examined that introduce noteworthy American characters, more than a third present fashionable society types. So much can not be said for the other groups, although political and commercial characters are numerous. While society characters of some realistic importance are found in the plays of almost every decade from the middle of the eighteenth century, it was not until the popularity of "Fashion" and similar succeeding pieces that the society play as a *genre* could be recognized. The predominating types of this time and the extent of their realism appear in the following examples. Few of these characters are wholly real, although nearly all seem to bear a resemblance to actual persons.

a. The Beau

A fair specimen of the American fop is introduced into Bateman's "Self" (1856) in the person of Charles Sanford, a step-son. He is not naturally bad, but perverted by wrong rearing. He speaks of his step-father as "the governor," flatters his mother for money, refuses to do work, drinks and gambles, suffers dismissal from college, and aims solely at fine appearance and a place among the dandies. Below he appears in his characteristic manner:

CHARLES. Mother, you look very handsome this morning! Did old Tulle Rubon manufacture that bonnet? It gives you the air of a girl of eighteen. I say, mother, let me have some money. The Governor grows stingier every day, and I can't keep up an appearance by the side of fellows like Cy, without two or three hundred dollars at my disposal.

MRS. A. (His mother.) Dear Charles, you know I can't bear to deny you anything, but I gave you four hundred last week—you are really too bad!

CHARLES. Just as you please. It's all up, though, my being able to persuade Cy into marrying Mary, the only thing we require to make our family the richest in New York, for he is worth at least a million, and can talk familiarly about all the crowned heads in Europe. Of course I can't be his bosom friend, and all that, and be hampered for a few paltry dollars. (pp. 8-9.)

In McCracken's "Earning a Living" (1849) other interesting characters of the beau-type occur. Rupert Hay and Hartington are "young sharks" who are engaged in business. Glumley is a magazine editor and at the same time a first-class beau who claims to be

seeking a marriageable fortune. He is a flatterer, loves society exposures, and writes a dozen articles for his own magazine over different signatures.

When the three persons above mentioned and Jacob Hollybush, a bachelor friend, are obliged to wait together for a few minutes, their conversation takes a true-to-life turn:

G. (to J. H.) Here is the Herald.

J. H. Thank you; I've read it through twice.

. . . . . .

G. Mr. Hay, was that a Philadelphian I saw talking to you to-day, in Wall Street?

HAY. Before the Exchange?

G. Yes.

HAY. Yes.

G. I thought so. I can always tell them.

J. H. How?

G. Oh, they look so band-boxy; that is, you know, the society men, the stars of Chestnut Street.

HAY. Yes; Philadelphia is the only place I know where the men of fashion are generally dandies.

G. Yes; that's the word—dandies; men that look rigged, that seem to be thinking about their clothes.

J. H. Every city has its peculiarities.

HART. What are ours?

J. H. Oh, this is the metropolis. I mean the provincial cities.

G. In Boston it is the inner man that they rig.

HAY. And the inner woman?

G. Oh, certainly! Logic and Latin, instead of ruffled skirts; and transcendentalism, instead of Miss Lawson's hats and feathers.

J. H. Well, I think I can always tell a Boston woman when I hear her talk.

HART. So can I.

G. They are so well informed, and so informing; so sure of what they say, and so precise and emphatic.

J. H. Even so. (p. 41.)

Other Beau Characters

Augustus Fogg (drawing-room appendage; indifferent to weather, operas, verses, and flowers, but not to dinners), Mowatt, "Fashion" (1845).

Alfred Spooney (dandy, just returned from the "grand tour"—six weeks in Europe; wears his hair and mustache long, and keeps the latter well oiled; regularly says "eh," "really 'pon my honor," and "when I was in Europe"), Gould, "The Very Age!" (1850).

Mr. Rushton Sunnyside ("good fellow"; unpractical, insincere, selfish, never serious; spendthrift of small honor and low motives; pretends to be a man of affairs, but shuns real business, and will not pay his debts; gives dinners to fools and scamps, just to be known as "a good fellow"; is intemperate, goes to Saratoga, has a passion for fine horses; hates sermonizing, and while refusing a poor widow five dollars gives one hundred dollars to help a society criminal out of prison), Walcot, "A Good Fellow" (1854).

Cypher Cynosure (traveled nonentity; rich booby; has great regard for public opinion; considers anyone fortunate who can create an American sensation; thinks gentlemen can *live* in Paris, while they merely *exist* in America; ends his remarks with "eh—ah—ya-as"), Bateman, "Self" (1856).

Mr. Frederick Augustus Carson (elderly bachelor; rich and extremely polite; educated in the manners of the opera; likes eating and drinking, fine clothes, splendid houses, and a good time; imagines he is still sought by the fair sex) and George Emmons ("pink and white," sentimental, money-wise young beau), Brougham, "Dred" (1856).

Bob Logic (young man about town, who knows society well), and Cubbe Codfishe and Shinn Shanghai (specimens of "Young America"; sensual, unprincipled, prodigal; gamble,

drink champagne, wear ridiculous clothes, call their father "governor," and use slang freely), Brougham, "Life in New York" (1856).

Like characters are found in Raux, "The Road to Fortune" (1846); Mathews, "False Pretenses" (1856); Wilkins, "My Wife's Mirror" (1856); Wilkins, "Young New York" (1856); Preuss, "Fashions and Follies of Washington Life" (1857); Boucicault, "The Poor of New York" (1857); Brougham, "The Musard Ball" (1858); Miles, "Senor Valiente" (1858); Wainwright, "Wheat and Chaff" (1858); Boucicault, "The Octoroon" (1859); and in many other American plays of the time.

b. The Lady

"Fashion" (1845) presents Mrs. Tiffany, a lady who imagines herself fashionable. She is of low extraction, and having become wealthy emulates the fashionable women about her. She is a slave to anything French, and speaks the French language most shockingly. An example of this is: "Jenny—says—quoi" and "ee-light." She is vain and extravagant, believes that success lies in keeping up appearance, and is anxious for her daughter to marry a nobleman. Anything American she considers vulgar. The following remark is characteristic:

Mr. Tiffany, you are thoroughly plebeian, and insufferably American, in your grovelling ideas! And, pray, what was the occasion of these *mal-ap-pro-pos* remarks? Merely because I requested a paltry fifty dollars to purchase a new style of head-dress—a *bijou* of an article just introduced in France. (p. 27.)

Mrs. Tiffany's daughter, Seraphina, is a true product of her mother's rearing. She is a light, rash, thoughtless coquette, and chiefly interested in what is "all the rage."

Prudence, in the same piece, represents a meddling, superstitious maiden lady, who likes to keep people in suspense, often says "I told you so," and is still looking for a husband.

In the comedy of "Earning a Living" (1849) there are a number of fashionable ladies. Mrs. Campion is the "fond mamma" who occupies her mind with nothing but beaux, balls, and the surest way of marrying off her daughter; Miss Dubarre is a homely, dissatisfied, talkative heiress whose $50,000 alone renders her attractive; and Charlotte and Mary pass as fashionable daughters of the day. The following dialogue between the two daughters, after a shopping trip, seems real:

M. I can't bear to deal with women. They are so mean, such hard bargainers, and so disobliging. They get out of patience, and won't show you anything.

C. And they cheat in the change, and give you short measure.

M. I wish we had some good lady's shoemakers.

C. We shall never have boots made here like the Paris boots; look at these—they are too large, and yet they pinch me. Those are your French ones.

M. Yes, they are perfectly easy; and yet, my foot looks as small again as it does in the others.

C. What a bazaar that shop of Stewart's is.

M. Yes, I hate to go there now. It is crowded and busy as a great market-place.

C. And they are learning market-place manners. They have so much to do that they can't stop to be civil. One does not meet the attention we used to, in Johnson's time. (pp. 23-24.)

Mrs. Apex in "Self" (1856) is another devotee of society who brings her husband to bankruptcy. She is a victim of social thraldom, and is willing to barter health, happiness, and love for a superficial position. She grows indulgent, unprincipled, and two-faced; likes to make herself envied of others; and considers *American* but a synonym of *vulgar*. She finally sees the hollowness of the world and wishes to reform. Her rival in fashionable life is Mrs. Radius. This lady is very envious, inconsistent, and unfeeling. She is a professional scandal-monger, and delights in wounding the feelings of others.

The following extract will further characterize the two. The scene is in Promptcash and Ellwide's store, where both ladies are interested in the same gown:

MRS. R. Oh, Mr. Ellwide, I thought I should never be able to get here! I wish they would arrange some other street for the *canaille*, and not permit them to obstruct Broadway. Do you know, I had to wait three-quarters of an hour, because a dray-load of emigrants (dirty, dreadful wretches!) ran against a wagon full of barrels; the horses slipped on the Russ pavement; some of the people were thrown down and hurt; three of the animals were killed, and I was obliged patiently to wait until they removed the bodies—a most provoking circumstance —for I was dying to get here before Mrs. Apex, as I hear you have something very handsome, and I am resolved, at any rate, to have the refusal of it!

ELL. I am sorry, but she has been here beforehand with you. The seven hundred dollar velvet is gone.

MRS. R. Has the creature been here already? and has she made such a purchase, when her husband's probable insolvency and her son's dissipation have become the talk of the town? That woman's extravagance is——.

(Turns and sees Mrs. Apex. Mrs. R. and Mrs. A. meet.)

Mrs. R. Ah! my dear Clemanthe! how are you after last night's excitement? (Kisses her.) . . . . You look pale, dear! Ah! no wonder; you must be very anxious about your son, Charles. He was quite tipsy last night; it was the talk of the party, and very naturally grief is written upon your face today.

MRS. A. Not at all, love; Charles was with friends, whose position in society insures respect, even in their excesses. . . . . (Aside.) Deceitful monster! but she is too fashionable to quarrel with. . . . . Show Mrs. Radius the dress I just purchased, Mr. Ellwide.

(Ellwide displays dress. Mrs. R. laughs.)

MRS. R. Now that's too droll! It is an exact fac-simile of the one I wore last season, when the style was most fashionable! Yes, love, it was quite pretty when it was what was worn!

MRS. A. Impossible! This is certainly new—was woven expressly for Eugenie, and exhibited at the Great Industrial Fair, this season! (pp. 6-7.)

Other Lady Characters

Mrs. Jenkins (anxious to be distinguished as a "match-maker"; does not scruple to do anything that society might sanction), Mrs. Spriggins (emulates the corrupt society women of Europe), Mrs. Spooney (pert widow who enjoys scandal), and Clara Erskine (millionaire's daughter; somewhat independent; thinks she wants a count), Gould, "The Very Age!" (1850).

Marie (peevish, helpless, hard-to-please Southern wife; afraid of exertion; thinks self very weak and dependent), Aiken, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" (1852).

Mrs. Sunnyside (society wife and "dragon-fly"; makes fashion her chief interest; is never troubled about how she shall pay her debts; has no knowledge of business; glad to see others follow her example; depends on servants to keep her house; goes to church to be seen; hates long and pointed sermons; scorns good counsel and economy; gads, flirts, and finally

leaves her bankrupt husband, for a part of whose misfortu e she is responsible), Walcot, "A Good Fellow" (1854).

Mrs. Corderoy Codliver (wealthy vulgarian and parvenue; ignorant, gluttonous, grumbling widow; has imaginary afflictions, and is always taking and recommending patent medicines; speaks after the manner of Mrs. Malaprop) and Miss Sallie Simper (shop-visitor; wishes to look over many goods; buys nothing, or small amounts; often returns goods), Bateman, "Self" (1856).

Nina Gordon (amiable, sympathetic, fashionable Southern heiress; expects little of negroes who are kept in ignorance; knows nothing of business; likes to look pretty and be admired; chooses her husband deliberately) and Madame Gordon (gentle, humane Southern lady), Brougham, "Dred" (1856).

Clementina Victorina Codfishe and Celestina Eugenia Codfishe (upstart daughters; seek foreign husbands; pound a piano and squall a duet; blunder through Italian and French; languish for Saratoga), and Mrs. Codfishe (upstart society mother and "lion-hunter"; dresses more gaudy than tasteful; is always fearing that her daughters will compromise their character), Brougham, "Life in New York" (1856).

Similar characters appear in Raux, "The Road to Fortune" (1846); Chase, "The Young Man About Town" (1854); Mathews, "False Pretenses" (1856); Wilkins, "My Wife's Mirror" (1856); Wilkins, "Young New York" (1856); Preuss, "Fashions and Follies of Washington Life" (1857); Boucicault, "The Poor of New York" (1857); Brougham, "The Musard Ball" (1858); Hurlbert, "Americans in Paris" (1858); Miles, "Senor Valiente" (1858); Boucicault, "The Octoroon" (1859); and in numerous other American pieces of the day.

c. The American Girl

Caroline Dalton (heiress; daughter of an American merchant who made money "for the excitement of the thing" but who "excited himself out of the world before his time"; along with her formal education has been taught usefulness; somewhat out of sympathy with foreign convention, and satisfied with American democracy; marries an English lord, but not for his title), Pardey, "Nature's Nobleman" (1851).

Caroline Morton ("Our Gal"; accomplished, independent, self-advising Yankee heiress; will choose her own husband, and thinks herself capable of choosing), Johnson, "Our Gal" (1856).

d. Other Fashionable Society Characters

Mrs. Umbraton (good wife, of domestic turn; tries to make a complete home; occasionally wishes to go into fashionable society, when in touch with such, but by her husband's kind counsel sees the folly of it all), Walcot, "A Good Fellow" (1854).

Mary Apex (plain, sensible, dutiful, home-loving, true-hearted daughter; shows simplicity in manner and dress; practices economy, enjoys work, and lives modestly and usefully), Bateman, "Self" (1856).

Aunt Jemimy (old maid of sixty-two, who still feels young; wishes to marry a young man, and thinks her chances good; is precise in manner and speech; has traveled as far as New York and Boston; hates negroes; is proud of her small foot), Conway, "Our Jemimy" (185-).

10. Servant Characters

Most of the realistic servant characters of the antebellum plays are negroes who appear in dramatized novels. The servant received more attention as a stage-character between 1850 and 1860 than during any previous decade.

a. The Black

Zeke (footman), Mowatt, "Fashion" (1845).

Uncle Tom (slave; steady, capable, honest, pious, and resigned; loves his master and will die for him, if necessary, yet has a desire for freedom; possesses a visionary nature), George Harris (alert, industrious mulatto; feels he has a natural right to freedom, and be-

comes a fugitive; ingenious, determined, and desperate in effort to free self and family), Eliza (educated mulatto fugitive), and Topsy (mischievous type of slave; brought up by a speculator; thinks she is necessarily wicked, because a negro; yields to kind treatment and love), Aiken, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" (1852).

Aunt Chloe (nurse; honest, faithful, devoted as a mother to master's children; innocent and affectionately familiar; has ideas, makes homely comparisons, and is prone to advise; longs for "ole Virginny," puts faith in colored preachers, and refuses to let her mistress work), Bateman, "Self" (1856).

Harry (educated, capable mulatto overseer of a plantation; believes self worthy of freedom), Old Tiff ("poor old black" who works hard, loves his master, trusts in heaven, and keeps patient; serves as gardener, coachman, cook, and housekeeper), Dred (outlaw runaway; bitter of feeling; aids fugitives to escape), Tomtit (incorrigible, wild, untutored negro), Old Hundred (consequential old coachman; feels above the slaves of the poor whites), and Lisette (dutiful mulatto slave-wife), Brougham, "Dred" (1856).

Tom Scott (converted servant of a retired army captain; often shares his master's liquor; his toast:

> Peace at home, pleasure abroad,
> Lub your wife, and sarve de Lord.),
> —Preuss, "Fashions and Follies of Washington Life" (1857).

Camille (Mobile fugitive, being helped to escape by Vermont Yankees), Trowbridge, "Neighbor Jackwood" (1857).

Old Pete (lovable old "uncle"; feels self-important; admonishes the younger negroes), Paul (indulged negro boy, not set to work), Dido (old negro "aunty"; considers self wise; thinks "doctors don't know nuffin"; has an unconscious drollery), and Zoe (octoroon; beautiful, refined, gentle, just, patient, honorable, and resigned), Boucicault, "The Octoroon" (1859).

11. Professional Characters

A few incidental dramatic characters, corresponding in some respects to living originals and forming a broadly defined professional group, are found in the plays of this epoch.

Pardey's "Nature's Nobleman" (1851) contains Hopkins Crayon, Esq., who is intended to represent an American literary aspirant. He has a special fondness for character-sketching, but sees in his countrymen a stronger taste for dollars than for works of an artistic order. The following shows him in conversation with Mr. Furleigh, who has just returned from abroad:

CRAY. Talk of dramas—you went to the theatres, of course? How I should like to see a French play!

FUR. Be satisfied, sir; you have seen a hundred.

CRAY. Eh?

FUR. Almost all the neat, interesting dramas of the day are French in scene and origin.

CRAY. Yes, the scene laid in France.

FUR. And the plot made there also. English playwrights are arrant thieves, and we are the receivers. We go to the theatres, not to see our own character and social life portrayed, but to witness the obsolete peculiarities of wigged baronets and square-skirted counts.

. . . . . .

CRAY. I am sure I have done my best. I wrote a native comedy, but because there were eight scenes in the last act, the manager said it was fitter for the closet. I sent a tragedy for the Forrest prize; I felt sure that my "Christian Knight" would come off conqueror, but somehow or other the infidel committee had more faith in "Mahomet."[9]

FUR. Let the "Christian Knight" come before the public and challenge the infidel.

CRAY. Oh! I'll think of it. (pp. 27-28.)

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[9] This refers to Miles's "Mohammed" (1850) which won over seventy other plays a prize of $1000 offered by Edwin Forrest.

A lawyer with perhaps certain realistic touches is found in Miles's "Senor Valiente" (1858). This is Chiselby, "born in Vermont and bred in New York, sir; never fear me." He dresses in plain clothes, moves and talks with a rush, rubs his hands frequently, and swallows his wine at a gulp. He charges his wealthy clients large fees, for they seem to be better pleased, and takes special care that no prospective clients escape him. Something of his character is revealed in the following soliloquy, as he examines his friend's library:

(Rubbing his hands.) Here's money thrown away. I guessed as much—not a law book among 'em. (Contemptuously.) Petrarch—Tasso—Camoens—Longfellow—Tennyson—Lope de Vega—stuff—trash—twaddle—fiddle-de-dee! Great reading for a man of sense. 'Gad, I wonder if people ever *do* read 'em. (Throws himself back in an arm chair.) Two nights' travel—Southern cars—used up, of course. Whoever breaks my *sex horas somno* must pay accordingly. . . . . (Rubbing his hands, rising, and inspecting the busts.) Fine head—Coke, may be—Coke wore a wig, though. (Reading the inscription.) Julius Caesar? I knew it was some great lawyer. (p. 16.)

Other Professional Characters

T. Tennyson Twinkle (modern poet; enthusiastic, and anxious to read his verses to others; occupies his mind with things classical), Mowatt, "Fashion" (1845).

Elder Moses (elderly Shaker; narrow-minded and set in his ways; trusts the judgment of old people, but has little faith in youth), Johnson, "The Shaker Lovers" (1849).

Marks (scheming, cowardly, unprincipled lawyer; does anything for money, and nothing without it), Aiken, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" (1852).

Brigham Young[10] (Mormon prophet; ambitious, sensual, hypocritical, hard-hearted, traitorus; keeps authority by dire threats; defies U. S. government, and pledges his priests against it; aspires to found an independent empire) and Parley P. Pratt (Mormon elder, and follower of Young), English, "The Mormons" (1853).

Mr. Clayton (philanthropist among the slaves), Brougham, "Dred" (1856).

Mr. Rukely (Vermont abolitionist preacher; while advocating obedience to law, will still aid the fugitives), Trowbridge, "Neighbor Jackwood" (1857).

Nicodemus Straightjacket (hypocritical philanthropist; gives alms ostentatiously, robs widows by soliciting death-bed bequests, favors marble-front churches, and practices fashionable follies), Chase, "The Young Man About Town" (1854).

12. Charlatan Characters

Jake (street swindler; preys on country fellows, by trading them gold-plated watches) and Mike (Jake's companion; works "the pocket-book game," and "smugs dogs"), Baker, "A Glance at New York" (1848).

Azariah Higgins ("black sheep" of the Shaker community; masks under his office as elder, to perpetrate wrongs), Johnson, "The Shaker Lovers" (1849).

Conclusion

The realistic presentation of American characters in native plays written between 1845 and 1860 is as follows:

[10] See McMaster, *Hist. of the People of U. S.*, VIII: 374 ff.

I

1. Of some one hundred and seventy-five plays recorded by Roden between 1845 and 1860, at least one-third are found to reflect American life more or less realistically.

Bibliography I gives a fully representative list.

2. The plays containing realistic native characters are almost equally divided among various pieces of comedy and dramas based on American history.

Since historical subjects of the day or of the immediate past are frequently treated, the attempted realism of such pieces is more pertinent.

3. The most important realistic characters of the time are found in the following groups: the Yankee, the military and political, the man of affairs and working man, and the fashionable society.

The Yankee type still keeps a strong hold upon the stage, without any marked change in characterization from that of the quarter-century preceding. The type usually represents a broad caricature, and is often little more than a native theatrical clown. In spite of these exaggerations, however, fundamentally the portrayal strongly suggests the real.

Military and political characters are among those most frequently encountered. In the majority of cases they appear in pieces based on native historical subjects of the day and of the past. A few are found in the regular comedies. Now and then the political characters are very real, although the most simply suggest actual persons.

The rise to prominence of man of affairs and working man characters is especially noteworthy. These characters, while never wholly, seem essentially true to the day's commercial and industrial life.

The fashionable society group furnishes more realistic characters of importance than any other. Society comedy as a native *genre* came into existence with the production of "Fashion" in 1845, although native fashionable characters had frequently appeared in the American plays of the preceding hundred years. These characters, in spite of their obvious stage-attributes, are sufficiently realistic to give a fair idea of the society life before the Civil War, particularly in the metropolis.

4. A significant falling off in the use of Indian characters is to be noted.

5. Frontier characters, both contemporary and historical, seem to receive but indifferent attention.

6. The negro slave is somewhat realistically put into several plays of this time.

7. A few professional characters of minor realistic interest may be pointed out.

II

The typical American as it is believed he has existed for many years fails to find complete exemplification in any of the dramatic characters of this epoch.

John Unit (in "Self") possesses much of the directness, prudence, and material-mindedness of the American business man; Adam Trueman (in "Fashion") embodies some of the shrewdness, economy, bluntness, independence, and general common sense of the successful

American farmer; and Mr. Erskine (in "The Very Age!") and Mr. Felix Umbraton (in "A Good Fellow") seem to have some of the substantial qualities of a patriotic American citizen. Again, we can clearly detect American traits in John Wilson, the "forty-niner," and Pike County Jess, the Western miner (in "A Live Woman in the Mine"); in the aggressive Major MacMuddle (in "Senor Valiente"); in Colonel Delaney, the confirmed Whig (in "Fashions and Follies of Washington Life"); in Colonel Blasinghame, "fire-eater" and "political boss" (in "Norman Maurice"); in St. Clare, the refined, easy-going slave-holder (in "Uncle Tom's Cabin"); in Arthur Morris, the unsocial creature of business life (in "Americans in Paris"); in Mose, "the fightin' fire-boy" (in "A Glance at New York"); in Mrs. Tiffany, the parvenue (in "Fashion"); in Charles Sanford, the American fop (in "Self"); in Caroline Morton, the independent American heiress (in "Our Gal"); in Chiselby, the New York bred lawyer (in "Senor Valiente"); and in Mr. Rukely, the abolitionist preacher (in "Neighbor Jackwood"). All of these characters and many others taken from the drama of the day are assigned American traits, yet in no one of them are there enough distinctive qualities assembled to make a fully representative American citizen.

III

The high-water mark of American drama prior to 1870, whether considered from the realistic, theatrical, or literary standpoint, was reached during this epoch. Yet in spite of relative superiority not one of these plays holds the stage to-day, or is often read except by students of American drama. These facts alone prove the absence of universal elements such as make dramatic works enduring.

George Henry Boker's "Calaynos" (1848) and "Francesca da Rimini" (1853) are the most finished plays of the time. They possess positive merit as literature, and are also well suited to stage-presentation. In the latter pieces both E. L. Davenport and Lawrence Barret acted successfully. But, unfortunately, both plays treat wholly foreign subjects. The same is true of virtually all the stronger American plays, until some time after the Civil War.

Pieces of high comedy showing creditable workmanship and at the same time portraying American characters more or less realistically are Mrs. Anna Cora Mowatt's "Fashion" (1845) and Mrs. Sidney F. Bateman's "Self" (1856). Of many plays of a certain realistic importance, which also surpass earlier comedies in artistic excellence, these two are probably the most meritorious.

CHAPTER IV

REALISTIC CHARACTERS IN AMERICAN PLAYS WRITTEN BETWEEN 1860 AND 1870

A Decade of Transition in American Drama

The decade of the Civil War was not propitious for American drama. As soon as hostilities began, theatrical and dramatic activities rapidly declined. Many theaters closed their doors, foreign actors departed for their homes, and native playwrights and producers, for the most part, either occupied themselves with other interests or awaited the return of more peaceful times. In the larger cities, where the theaters remained open, the foreign domination continued, and whenever native composition was undertaken it was as a rule either imitative or sectional.

There is a marked lull in the production of American plays between 1860 and 1865, and the few pieces belonging to these years usually breathe of the atmosphere in which they were conceived. Following 1865 native drama began gradually to revive, although it came at once under the influence of the English T. W. Robertson. The most important dramatic writing of the decade was Augustin Daly's (1838-1899) "Under the Gaslight," brought out in 1867, although this play is not wholly original and in some ways commonplace. As a matter of fact, the decade makes but little addition to the strength of native drama and furthermore presents few realistic characters of significance. Such as do appear are principally those portrayed in the war-plays.

Among the better dramatic writers of the day, in addition to Daly, might be named Mrs. D. S. Curtis, Dion Boucicault, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Dabney McCabe (1842-1883), and John Savage (1828-1888).

In certain respects the years between 1860 and 1870 represent a decade of transition for the drama in America. When it began to attract attention again, a few years after the restoration of peace, it was being written for a new audience, under different conditions, and by a more creative order of genius. The partisan note had undergone modification; the former legitimate drama was be-

ing neglected in consequence of a newly developed taste for mirth-making, spectacular shows;[1] the play constructed of many-scene acts, produced on a platform stage, was being supplanted by the play of one-scene acts, presented on a picture-frame stage; the pieces reflecting American life with only a certain verisimilitude were being superseded by pieces which attempted to depict on the stage the most characteristic phases of actual American society; and finally the drama of the New World, after more than a century, was being regenerated into a less servile, more dignified existence by the advent of a professional playwright who possessed not only self-confidence and bright ideas, but a fair measure of genuinely creative power.

This man was Bronson Howard. He gave to the dramatic world the American business play, in which it is believed he most completely expressed himself.[2] He was familiar with the people of his time, he aimed at reproducing them, their shortcomings and their problems upon the stage, and with the aid of his ingenuity, insight, and happy self-expression he surpassed all his predecessors, blazed the trail for his successors in American realism, and won for himself the distinction of being our first really creative dramatist.

1. Yankee Characters

Tarbox ("seedy" down-East farmer, just returned from the war; was drafted into service, and grew sick as soon as the fighting began), Curtis, "A Change of Base" (1866).

Hiram Beers (teamster and village oracle), Daly, "A Legend of Norwood" (1867).

2. Indian Character

Tituba (mysterious Indian woman), Longfellow, "Giles Corey of the Salem Farms" (1868).

3. Frontier Characters

Christian, Edith, Wharton, and others (persecuted Quakers of 1665), Longfellow, "John Endicott" (1868).

4. Military Characters

Arthur Douglas (spirited Confederate; captain of Guerrillas), Major General Fremont (U. S. officer; represented as greatly annoyed by the Guerrillas; reports victories at Washington, when he has really met defeat; considers himself a philanthropist, although he possesses a debased character), and Colonel Bradley (cowardly Union officer), McCabe, "The Guerrillas" (1862).

"The Guerrillas" was the first original drama produced in the Southern Confederacy. It was played at Richmond, December 22, 1862, and was received with enthusiasm. "It was the design of the author to show, in its true light, the condition of affairs in the western portion of Virginia" (from introduction).

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[1] See Bates, XX:88.

[2] See Matthews, A, 288.

General Washington, Major-General Arnold, Colonel Hamilton, Sergeant Briggs, Paulding, Van Wert, and Williams, and others (historical American characters), Calvert, "Arnold and André" (1864).

5. Political Characters

Now and then the plays of the decade of the Civil War present political characters that reflect the times.

a. The Public Official

Policeman 9-9-9,—Daly, "Under the Gas Light" (1867).

Governor Endicott (Colonial governor; proud of his office) and Merry (tithing-man; petty official, anxious to use his authority), Longfellow, "John Endicott" (1868).

John Hawthorne (magistrate; will convict without evidence those accused of witchcraft), Longfellow, "Giles Corey of the Salem Farms" (1868).

b. The Patriot

Joshua Smith (friend of General Arnold; staunch Patriot) and Mrs. Arnold (although of Tory birth, a Patriot sympathizer), Calvert, "Arnold and André" (1864).

c. The Confederate

A true embodiment of Confederate opinion is presented in McCabe's "The Guerrillas" (1862), in the character of Henry Douglas, the grandfather of a Confederate captain. The old gentleman has always tried to be a loyal American, and even now stands for what he believes to be right. He says:

> Now a new danger threatens us, and I must count as foes the sons of those who fought with me. Alas! that it must be. My blood helped to build up and hallow the Union, and I loved it well. But now that Northern tyranny would fasten upon us chains worse than Britain forged for us—I scorn and curse it. I am a Southerner, a Virginian. This sword has never been drawn, save in the cause of freedom. (p. 10.)

d. The Politician

Wolverine Griffin (old-maid suffragist), Mrs. Badger (assessor, in the woman's party), and Judge Wigfall (feminine leader of the woman's party), Curtis, "The Spirit of '76" (1868).

"The Spirit of '76" is an extreme satire on women in politics.

6. Rural Characters

Deacon Marble (New England villager), Tommy Taft ("old salt"; witty, rough Yankee; good-hearted, but keeps putting off repentance and conversion), Mr. Turfmold (mercenary village undertaker; has buried people for more than thirty years; likes to have a fine coffin and a large crowd for each funeral), "The Boy from Hardscrabble" ("genus New England; species Hardscrabble"; tough village chap, but brave fighter for the Union), Agate Bissell (puritanic maiden lady), Polly Marble (long-faced wife of N. E. deacon; visits the sick, and tells them how badly they look), and Mother Taft (grandmotherly nurse), Daly, "A Legend of Norwood" (1867).

Giles Corey (N. E. farmer of 1692; credulous, superstitious, religious, and honest domineers his wife, and works his farm-hands hard, on small wages; becomes greatly depressed; loves his cattle, boasts of his strength, and likes to outdo the younger men at mowing) and Martha (Corey's wife; good, patient, and sensible), Longfellow, "Giles Corey of the Salem Farms" (1868).

7. Man of Affairs Characters

William Nickelbury (opulent merchant; ambitious, blustering, somewhat blunt; much addicted to his newspapers; believes "young men will be young men"; seeks a rich son-in-law;

says "Love is all moonshine") and Philip Sharpe (accomplished rogue in business; his creed: "With money a man may buy anything: honors, position, comfort, and luxury; without it he may die in the gutter, despised by the world"), Hollenius, "Dollars and Cents" (1869).

Cole (hypocritical landlord; keeps his cow on the common, and has a seat in the new meeting-house) and Kempthorn (sea-captain; superstitious, witty, and good-natured; drinks, smokes, and swears), Longfellow, "John Endicott" (1868).

Richard Gardner (sea-captain; of generous heart and good sense, but a disposition to carouse), Longfellow, "Giles Corey of the Salem Farms" (1868).

8. Working Man Characters

Newsboys (making capital of war-news) and Postman (meeting Major May:

Ah, Major May, good morning! I was on my way to your house; have a letter for you, sir.

MAJ. M. (Receiving the letter.) Chalk it down, Post; I've no change now.

POST. All right. (Aside.) Chalk it down! I am doing a thriving business in the chalk line. Good many good men—very little small change.),—Price, "Kissing a Soldier" (1863).

9. Fashionable Society Characters

a. The Beau

Captain Dashwood (gallant, patriotic Union captain, just returned from service), Curtis, "A Change of Base" (1866).

Ray Trafford ("one of the New York bloods") and Demilt and Windel ("of the rising Wall Street generation"), Daly, "Under the Gaslight" (1867).

b. The Lady

An example of the Southern lady, with something of her attitude during the Civil War, is presented in "The Guerrillas" (1862). This character is Rose Maylie, who becomes the wife of a Confederate officer. Having been captured by General Fremont, a Union officer, she refuses to give information:

ROSE. I will not aid the enemy of my country.

GEN. F. (Coldly.) Your country is the Union.

ROSE. (Indignantly.) 'Tis false; we have cast it off forever; we scorn and trample on the Union.

GEN. F. (In great astonishment.) Can it be possible! Even the women and children of this infernal rebel land are mad with treason.

ROSE. (Proudly.) We are proud of that which you call treason. Go back, General Fremont, to those that sent you, and tell them that they can never conquer the South. You may kill every man and boy in our land, but you will then have to meet the women; and woe to you when that day comes (carried away by her enthusiasm). We will conquer—we will drive you from the land. (p. 30.)

Other Lady Characters

Miss Prim (maiden lady; careful to be extremely sensible; envies a pretty face, and thinks girls need experience before marrying), Curtis, "A Change of Base" (1866).

Laura Courtland (amiable New York belle), Pearl Courtland (pretty, heartless belle; hates everything but larks), and Mrs. Van Dam, Sue Earlie, and Lizzie Liston (society scandalmongers), Daly, "Under the Gaslight" (1867).

Victorine Wigfall (daughter of a suffragist; somewhat disgusted with "the woman idea"), Curtis, "The Spirit of '76" (1868).

Mrs. Augustus W. Shybold (widow of forty-five, "angling for a husband"; affected, ignorant, vain, and coquettish; resembles Mrs. Malaprop), Hollenius, "Dollars and Cents" (1869).

c. The American Girl

Flora Fayaway (romantic American girl; wants a man who will marry her for herself: not especially concerned about position, antecedents, and money; plays, sings, makes calls, plays croquet, attends parties, and sometimes goes to the opera), Curtis, "A Change of Base" (1866).

Evelyn Nickelbury (daughter of an American merchant; romantic, but sensible and ladylike; sees somewhat beyond mere money; says:

Do you know we American girls are quite satisfied with a plain mister?),—Hollenius, "Dollars and Cents" (1869).

10. Servant Characters

a. The Black

A fairly realistic servant of a Confederate master appears in "The Guerrillas" (1862) in the character of Jerry. Having protected his master's wife against insult by a Union colonel, Jerry is given his freedom as a reward:

JERRY. (Starting back in surprise.) Marse Arthur, you'se a jokin'.

ARTHUR. (His master.) No, Jerry, I am serious. You are free.

JERRY. (Indignantly.) A free nigger? I don't want to be free.

ARTHUR. But, Jerry, you can go North if you wish to do so, and be as good as the white people there.

JERRY. De Norf! Ain't dat whar de Abulishuners live?

ARTHUR. Yes.

JERRY. (Indignantly). Marse Arthur, I'se s'prised at you, 'deed I is. (Drawing himself up proudly.) I tank he good Lord I 'siders myself heap better dan any abulishuner dat eber libed. What I want to be free for? (With feeling.) Marse Arthur, I bin in your family eber since I bin born. . . . . If you'se tired of old Jerry, jis' take him out in de field and shoot him, but don't send him away from you; don't set him free. Please don't, Marse Arthur. (p. 24.)

Other Black Servant Characters

Sam ("colored citizen ready for suffrage when it is ready for him"), Daly, "Under the Gaslight" (1867).

Pete Sawmill (gentle-hearted darkey), Daly, "A Legend of Norwood" (1867).

b. The White

Betsey (chambermaid; pert and vivacious; says "Law!" "Ain't he a swell!" and "She's awful sweet on your boss."), Hollenius, "Dollars and Cents" (1869).

11. Professional Characters

Splinter (crafty attorney of the Tombs police court), Daly, "Under the Gaslight" (1867).

John Norton (orthodox N. E. preacher of 1665; believes that he is God's own mouthpiece; represents the high tide of intolerance), Longfellow, "John Endicott" (1868).

Cotton Mather (N. E. minister of 1692; shows a certain degree of tolerance), Longfellow, "Giles Corey of the Salem Farms" (1868).

12. Miscellaneous Characters

Jeremiah Austen (Quaker of the old school; believes in strict conformity to the established discipline, and in isolation from the world; is satisfied with a uniform costume, formless meetings, and singsong speaking from the rising-seats; banishes the piano from the parlor, and Shakespeare from the library), Congdon, "Quaker Quiddities" (1860).

Byke and Judas (riffraff characters who know how to evade the law), Daly, "Under the Gaslight" (1867).

Conclusion

The realistic presentation of American characters in native plays written between 1860 and 1870 is as follows:

I

1. The Roden bibliography mentions about fifty plays of the decade of the Civil War. Not more than one-third of these significantly reflect American life.

A representative list is given in Bibliography I.

2. The realistic characters occur in pieces that treat American history, political and social questions, and situations arising from the Civil War.

3. Although political and fashionable society characters are somewhat the more numerous, there can hardly be pointed out any predominant group.

4. Owing to this decade's being an epoch of national chaos and a time of transition and comparative inactivity in American drama, the realism of the dramatic characters is almost negligible. The only characters of realistic significance are those in the war-plays that reflect party spirit and political conditions.

II

There are presented no characters of importance that tend to suggest American nationality.

III

The decade of the Civil War contributed little of permanence to native drama.

Two successful plays of the time were Augustin Daly's "Under the Gaslight" (1867), an "original and picturesque drama of life and love in these times," and Mrs. D. S. Curtis's "The Spirit of '76" (1868), a parlor piece satirizing the woman's rights movements. Neither piece possesses enduring qualities.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The Period of Spontaneity

In the native plays written between 1751 and 1787 the realistic presentation of American characters is as follows:

I

1. Characters that reflect real American life appear in about sixty percent of the some forty recorded plays of this period.

By actual count, moreover, the total number of native characters represented is found to be larger than the number of foreign or fictive.

2. Of the pieces presenting realistic characters about four-fifths deal with historical and political subjects.

3. The predominant realistic characters of this period belong to the military, the political, and the fashionable society groups.

4. All the dramatic characters and situations are closely related to the real people and conditions of the time. Frequently well-known individuals are so directly copied that their identity is recognizable. The play characters are animated and essentially authentic memorials of most of the chief interests and issues of the period.

5. There are presented no satisfactory Yankee characters, and a surprisingly small number of Indian parts.

6. The dramatic characters between 1751 and 1787 suggest the rise of a fashionable class in America.

II

In the drawing of the realistic characters there seem to be remote hints of some of the distinctive elements of American nationality.

These, for the most part, occur in the Patriot characters.

III

None of our Colonial and Revolutionary plays, whether containing realistic characters or not, possesses enduring qualities. These pieces are virtually all circumscribed by conditions of time and place, and ceased to have a reason for being along with the civilization that fostered them.

The Period of Experiment and Dependence

In the native plays written between 1787 and 1815 the realistic presentation of American characters is as follows:

I

1. Characters bearing something of an American stamp are found in less than thirty percent of the nearly one hundred and seventy-five recorded plays (of which about forty are translations and adaptations) that belong to this period.

2. Of the pieces presenting realistic characters the greater number treat historical and political themes of the day or of the immediate past; a smaller number consists of pieces of low, high, and operatic comedy on native subjects and usually of a certain political significance.

3. The predominant realistic characters of this period are the Yankee, the political, and the fashionable society.

The native Yankee, caricatured but in many particulars true to life, was first intentionally introduced into American dramatic writings in Tyler's "The Contrast" in 1787. The type is presented in about a half-dozen plays between 1787 and 1789, but seldom reappears until nearly two decades later. As found in the pieces written between 1806 and 1815 the character seems somewhat less natural and more of a stage-fool.

Political characters that authentically remind us of the leading historical and political situations from 1787 to 1815 are more frequently encountered than any other. Several political characters, also, are found in plays based on the past American history. Such retrospective plays were seldom written prior to 1796, owing partly to the nearness or unattractiveness of the past and especially to the dramatic possibilities of the events with which the writers were constantly surrounded. In the various political characters much of the spirit of the times is preserved. The political characters grow less numerous toward the end of the period.

Characters drawn from the contemporaneous fashionable society are now and then found throughout the period. As types they are evidently imitated from English drama, although from them a fair idea of certain phases of American society is also gained.

4. The dramatic use of Indian characters is for the most part negligible prior to 1815.

In 1794 Ann Hatton's "The Songs of Tammany" was produced in New York; in 1802 Croswell published at Boston "A New World Planted," an historical drama containing Indians; and in 1808 Barker wrote "The Indian Princess," which was successfully played in both Philadelphia (1808) and New York (1809).

5. Characters from the industrial and commercial life of the period are almost wholly lacking.

6. Many of the better specimens of realistic characters occur in plays not well suited to theatrical presentation.

Such pieces are "The Politician Out-Witted" (1788), "The Better Sort" (1789), "Occurrences of the Times" (1789), "The Politicians" (1798), "Rural Felicity" (1801), "The Sprightly Widow" (1803), "Jonathan Postfree" (1806), "The Child of Feeling" (1809), and others.

II

The elements of a distinctive American nationality, while often recognizable, are not prominent in the dramatic characters of this period.

The Yankee characters of "The Contrast" (1787) and its immediate successors seem to embody some of the traits of a typical American citizen, such as material-mindedness, "optimism, accessibility, ready approach to his fellows, venturesomeness, self-reliance."[1] Some of these qualities are also found to distinguish a few of the political characters, especially those taken from the plays of the last decade and a half of the eighteenth century. The plays of the decade preceding the War of 1812 contain little that tends to suggest a national mind.

III

Although the plays of this period show a greater breadth of appeal and a higher quality of workmanship than those of the preceding, still none of them possesses sufficient merit to perpetuate it.

The best plays of the time were probably "The Father" (1788) and "André" (1798) by William Dunlap and "The Indian Princess" (1808) and "Marmion" (1812) by James Nelson Barker. These dramatic works were all favorably received in their day, and even now will bear more than cursory inspection. They, however, like others of the stronger plays, contribute less to native realism than the inferior pieces.

The Period of Development and Partial Independence

In the native plays written between 1815 and 1870 the realistic presentation of American characters is as follows:

I

1. Characters that realistically or otherwise significantly reflect American life are presented in about thirty percent of the some four hundred and twenty-five recorded plays of this period.

2. Of the pieces containing realistic characters fully two-thirds either deal with American history, usually of the past, or treat certain phases of American politics or subjects that necessitate the portrayal of political characters.

3. The most important realistic characters are the Yankee, the Indian, the frontier, the political, the man of affairs and working man, and the fashionable society.

The Yankee began to be an established stage-type during the decade of the twenties, and continued in constant favor until the new dramatic movements that followed the Civil War. Two of his greatest impersonators were James H. Hackett and George (Yankee) Hill, whose performances were claimed by New Englanders themselves to be faithfully done. Others who successfully acted the part were Danforth Marble, Charles Burke, George Spear, and John E. Owens.

From the foregoing it seems that at least a part of the time the Yankee must have been represented with much of his actual bluntness of speech, drollery of manner, and independence of air; his propensity to scheming and calculation; his careful concern about the main chance;

[1] Suggested by Prof. E. A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin, in a letter under date of April 29, 1915.

his awkward dodging of profanity; his optimistic good humor; and his large endowment with practical common sense. As found in the numerous plays, however, the character seems greatly overdrawn, being only now and then wholly like a living person and not infrequently little more than a native stage-clown. Yet, underlying all the distorted externals there is much of reality to be discovered. The living type is always clearly suggested by the dramatic and, as far as fundamental traits are concerned, I am disposed to think, with sufficient verity. The portrayal remains essentially the same throughout the period.

The Indian, although found in a few of the earliest American plays and from time to time in the productions of the early nineteenth century, was not given a recognized place on the stage till 1829 when Edwin Forrest began playing in "Metamora." Indian drama became at once the vogue, continuing in favor for nearly twenty years. The decade preceding the Civil War shows a falling off in production.

Virtually all the Indian characters appear in historical plays, and are both idealized and real. Although the dramatic Indians often speak and act in impossible ways, fundamentally they seem about as true to life as the authors could draw them from perhaps an imperfect personal acquaintance, reported information, or historical accounts.

Frontier characters occur in various plays throughout the period. Although the most of them are in pieces treating past American history and are therefore usually of secondary importance as far as realism is concerned, a few on the other hand represent frontiersmen of the day. A notable example of the latter class is Colonel Nimrod Wildfire, a Kentucky backwoodsman, in Paulding's "The Lion of the West" (1831). The realism of such characters is comparable to that of the stage-Yankees. Toward the end of the period frontier characters become fewer.

Political characters are more frequently encountered than those of any other group. They show marked variety, many occurring in the frequent historical plays, others in dramas written around American political situations, and not a few in the numerous pieces of light comedy that have some political import. While it may be too much to claim that United States history from 1815 to 1870 can be satisfactorily followed in the dramatic works of these years—to say nothing of the many plays based on the events of earlier American history—it would nevertheless seem correct to assert that most of the historical events and political conditions which deeply stirred the American public mind and which have since found a place in our national annals were dramatized at some time or other during the period, and in many instances with a vitality and genuineness of spirit that render them valuable. A few of the political characters are like photographic reproductions, although as a whole they are not especially real, and seem to suggest rather than exactly to reproduce. That the American nation was still in the making may be easily inferred from the tone of these native dramatic pieces.

Realistic characters from our commercial and industrial life, such as the man of affairs and the working man, are rarely presented in the earlier American drama, and even during the thirty years following the War of 1812 they are all but wholly neglected. Beginning with 1845 this condition began to be somewhat modified. As soon as the wealthy upstart families of the larger cities came to be suitable material for the playwrights, then the source of such society—the commercial life of the land—had to be dealt with. In short, from the presentation of Mr. Tiffany in "Fashions" (1845) plays containing business men and other industrial characters were brought out in large numbers. This is especially interesting in view of the fact that during the last quarter of the nineteenth century the business play was to become one of America's most distinctive contributions to dramatic literature. The man of affairs and working man characters of the antebellum plays are seldom wholly real, although they usually embody the most distinguishing traits of their prototypes.

Characters from the fashionable society of the first half of this period seem to have had no particular appeal to playwrights. Although native fashionable characters had regularly appeared in American plays for three-quarters of a century, the American society play as a *genre* did not definitely come into existence till the production of "Fashion" (1845). This play is neither wholly original nor highly wrought, yet it helped to establish a new mode and standard for American drama by making use of well-known society types of the metropolis. Between 1845 and the Civil War there were more society pieces written than any other kind. The characters are often conventional, and seldom exact copies in every particular of their originals. Yet if one sets aside the theatrical limitations and looks for distinctive attributes, one feels convinced that the characters give a fair idea of the real society of the day.

4. The negro slave is somewhat realistically put into several plays of the fifteen years preceding the Civil War.

5. A few incidental professional characters of minor realistic importance occur from time to time during the period.

6. Of the plays reflecting real American life about two-thirds were produced on the stage.

II

Characters possessing some of the distinctive qualities of an American citizen may be discovered in the plays of each decade between the War of 1812 and the Civil War. Examples of these, with their distinguishing traits, have been given in the chapter-conclusions. Taken as a body, these characters apparently have most of the attributes that go to make up that composite individual, a typical citizen of the United States, in whom the sectional peculiarities of the East, the South, the Middle West, and the Far West shall find a happy union. But if one looks for some single character that exemplifies well, or even fairly well, the individual mind that is indigenous, national, and wholly distinctive, then one must experience disappointment. There can be but one conclusion: dramatic characters that are correctly and satisfactorily national, even for their own period, had not been done up to 1870.

III

Between 1815 and 1870 there were written a small number of American plays that are worthy of serious consideration. Although hardly one of these was able to survive its century and none may be ranked among even the lesser world-masterpieces, nevertheless there could perhaps be named a half-dozen [2] that possess adaptability to acting, contain many of the qualities of good literature, and exhibit unmistakably the marks of professional craftsmanship and creative genius. But of these stronger plays, unfortunately, scarcely one has any realistic significance—a fact that proves how completely American realism was divorced from dignified American drama. Indeed, prior to 1870, native drama that constructively dealt with wholly American materials had made nothing more than a small beginning.

[2] See introduction to Part III for a suggested list.

American Drama Prior to Eighteen Seventy

Concerning the realistic presentation of American characters in native American plays prior to 1870 the following general conclusion may be made:

I

1. Of some six hundred and fifty broadly representative American plays prior to 1870, about thirty percent are found to reflect American life realistically or otherwise significantly. The extent, the manner, and the fidelity of this realism, just as it actually occurs in the plays, form the content of the preceding chapters.

But after all, what is the exact nature of the character-realism found in the first century and a quarter of American drama? It seems to be this: American playwrights in their numerous and diversified dramas have portrayed hundreds of characters that were either directly copied from real American prototypes or, in the broader outlines and more elemental traits, were directly suggested by living persons; yet, when it comes to characters that are *wholly* and *satisfactorily* true to life, both in the conception and representation of them, the number is exceedingly small and would include for the most part the minor and incidental characters of minor plays. In other words, I should feel safe in saying that there are abundant examples of native realism which present many of the essentials of their originals, but that there are very few which reproduce distinctive types of American people with an exact and complete verisimilitude.

The reason for this condition lies chiefly in the dramatic and theatrical domination of the different epochs. Prior to 1787, before many native plays were produced on the professional stage, there was twice as much attention given to native characters as in the later periods. Furthermore, throughout all three periods, many of the most genuinely realistic characters appear in plays either not acted or not well suited to acting. The truth is, that the influence of the theater was away from realism, and this is not at all surprising when we recall that during the late eighteenth century and most of the nineteenth Kotzebue, Scribe, and Sardou, in their turn, were our accepted masters. During the same years, also, the declamatory school of acting held sway, being represented by such distinguished players as Cooper, Kean, Macready, Forrest, the Booths, and Davenport. All of the influences tended to suppress

realism: they set clever, romantic plots above characterization that copied life, or encouraged the writing of dramas on conventional and classical subjects, to the neglect of American materials. The result was, that the strongest plays were usually least realistic.

2. Of the some two hundred plays in which varying degrees of native realism occur, fully two-thirds either deal with American history, or treat the manifold phases of American politics or subjects which require portrayal of political characters.

This is a meaningful observation, for it proves that the highest concern of the American republic until after the Civil War—the business of building a nation—finds almost ample expression in native dramatic writing. From 1751 to 1870 the leading events of American history can be clearly traced in the drama of the same years, and can frequently be viewed with much of their original spirit and relation to contemporaneous conditions. This is especially true of the Revolutionary pieces.

3. Since historical and political themes are most frequently used, it naturally follows that political types of character are predominant. These are almost as diversified as the political personnel of our national history has been, ranging from the groveling vote-seller up to the first citizen of the land. Of all the native dramatic characters some of the most realistic are found in the political group. They occasionally represent a minute and vitalized portraiture. They are not often intended to appeal to the aesthetic faculty—in this respect, resembling the plays in which they appear—but rather to good-humored, plain-thinking, open-souled humanity. The realistic American plays up to 1870 are not a highly wrought drama for ease or intellectuality, but the hurried, unadorned self-expression of a practical people who view Old-World aristocracy askance and look to unstinted democracy as the *summum bonum* of worthy Americans.

4. The importance and development of other groups and types of realistic characters may be best seen by examining the chapter and part conclusions in consecutive order.

II

The extent to which elements of a distinctive American nationality appear in the realistic characters of American drama is indicated in the chapter and part conclusions.

III

Realistic American characters in native drama, prior to 1870, that possess universality of human interest are virtually wanting.

BIBLIOGRAPHY I[1]

A List of Representative American Plays Written Prior to 1870

In compiling this chronological bibliography the aim has been, first, to record as far as possible all noteworthy native dramatic pieces that in any manner present aspects of American life, and, secondly, to make these a part of a widely representative list of native plays that show the evolution of dramatic writing in America. Several minor plays, never printed, and nearly all adaptations are excluded.

Each play is listed under the date of its composition when this is known: otherwise, under the earliest known date of its publication, or production on the stage. Asterisks (*) before titles indicate, as far as could be ascertained, those plays containing characters which realistically or otherwise significantly reflect American life. Capital letters after titles designate well-known libraries owning copies of the plays, according to the following table: B A, Boston Athenaeum; B P, Boston Public; B, Brown University; H, Harvard University; L C, Library of Congress; N Y P, New York Public, and P, University of Pennsylvania.

PART I, CHAPTER I

1751

The Suspected Daughter; or, Jealous Father. Farce, in Three Acts, both Serious and Comic, by T. T. Boston: 1751.

Wegelin thinks this probably the first play by a native American.[2]

1753

*Le Père Indien. Tragedy, founded upon an incident in the history of the Calapissa Indians, by Le Blanc de Villeneuve. In MS.

Played in 1753 by a company of amateurs in the Governor's Mansion, New Orleans.

1759

The Prince of Parthia. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Thomas Godfrey. Philadelphia: 1765. L C.

Written, 1759; performed by the Douglas professional troupe, 1767; said to be the earliest American tragedy. It treats a foreign subject.

1762

The Military Glory of Great Britain. Entertainment, given by the late candidates for the Bachelor's Degree at the close of the anniversary commencement, held in Nassau-Hall, N. J., Sept. 29, 1762. Author unknown. Philadelphia: 1762. N Y P

1766

*The Conquest of Canada; or, The Siege of Quebeck. Historical Tragedy, in Five Acts, by George Cockins. London; 1766; Philadelphia: 1772. P

Contains little of native interest; was performed in Philadelphia, 1773.

*Ponteach; or, The Savages of America. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Robert Rogers. London: 1766; Caxton Club ed., Chicago: 1914. L C

Date of action, 1763; place, Colonial frontier.

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[1] See Wegelin and Roden for a more inclusive compilation of titles. These two bibliographies are arranged alphabetically according to authors, and each has an index to plays.

[2] The first dramatic piece *published* in America was "Androboros." A B(i)ographical Farce, in Three Acts, viz. The Senate, The Consistory, and The Apotheosis. By Governor Robert Hunter. Printed at Monoropolis since August, 1714.

This piece is very rare. It is a severe criticism of the clergy, members, and others of Trinity Church, the principal among whom was Dr. Vesey. See Wegelin, 59-60; Ford, A, 675-76.

1767

*The Disappointment; or, The Force of Credulity. Comic Opera, in Three Acts, by Andrew Barton (perhaps Col. Thomas Forrest's pen-name, according to a MS note on the copy in the library of Philadelphia). New York: 1767; another ed., revised and corrected, with large additions, Philadelphia: 1796. L C

Rehearsed *but not played* by the Douglass company, because of a too personal characterization.

Reasons offered for publication: "1. The infrequency of dramatic composition in America. 2. The necessity of contributing to the entertainment of the city. 3. To put a stop (if possible) to the foolish and pernicious practice of searching after supposed hidden treasure."

1770

*The Monthly Assembly. Farce. Author unknown. Boston: 1770.

1771

Hodge Podge Improved; or, The Race Fairly Run. Tragic Comedy, by J. Macpherson. In "A Pennsylvania Sailor's Letters," Philadelphia: 1771.

The author has published only extracts of the piece because of sympathy for a certain innocent woman.

1773

*The Adulateur. Tragedy, in Five Acts, as it is now acted in Upper Servia (Massachusetts), by Mrs. Mercy Otis Warren. Boston: 1773. L C

1774

*A Dialogue between a Southern Delegate and his Spouse, on his return from the Grand Continental Congress. A Fragment. Author unknown. Printed, 1774. N Y P

1775

*A Cure for the Spleen; or, Amusement for a Winter's Evening. Being the Substance of a Conversation on the Times, over a Friendly Tankard and Pipe, (probably) by Jonathan Mitchell Sewall. America: 1775; New York: 1775. N Y P

BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

*The Candidates; or, The Humors of a Virginia Election. Comedy, in Three Acts, by Colonel Robert Munford. Petersburg: 1798.

The author died, 1782; the play was published, 1798. The prologue, written by a friend, contains the following:

I boldly answer, how could he mean you,
Who when he wrote about you nothing knew?
The state of things was such in former times,
Ere wicked kings were punish'd for their crimes.

This, along with the theme, makes it seem probable the piece was written before the Revolution.

"The piece entitled 'The Candidates' is intended to laugh to scorn the practice of corruption and falsehood of which too many are guilty in electioneering."—From preface.

PART I, CHAPTER II

1775

*The Group. Farce, in Two Acts, As lately acted and as to be reacted to the wonder of all superior intelligences, nigh head-quarters at Amboyne. By Mrs. Mercy Otis Warren. Boston: 1775; New York: 1775. L C

1776

*The Battle of Brooklyn. Farce, in Two Acts, as it was performed on Long Island on Tuesday, the 27th. day of August, 1776, by the Representatives of the Tyrants of America assembled at Philadelphia. Author unknown. New York: 1776; reprinted Brooklyn: 1873. L C

*The Battle of Bunker's Hill. Dramatic Piece, in Five Acts, by Hugh Henry Brackenridge. Philadelphia: 1776.
A school piece.

*The Blockheads; or, The Affrighted Officers. Farce, in Three Acts, attributed to Mrs. Mercy Otis Warren. Boston: 1776. L C
Called forth by General Burgoyne's farce, "The Blockade of Boston."

*A Dialogue between the Ghost of General Montgomery just Arrived from the Elysian Fields and an American Delegate, in a Wood near Philadelphia. By Thomas Paine. Philadelphia: 1776; New York: 1865. N Y P

*The Fall of British Tyranny; or, American Liberty Triumphant. The First Campaign. Tragi-Comedy, of Five Acts, as lately planned at the Royal Theatrum Pandemonium at St. James's. The Principal Place of Action in America. Attributed to John Leacock. Philadelphia; another ed., Providence: 1776. L C
Played by amateurs.

1777

*The Death of General Montgomery in Storming the City of Quebeck. Tragedy, by Hugh Henry Brackenridge. Philadelphia: 1777. L C
A school piece.

1779

*The Motley Assembly. Farce, in One Act. Published for the Entertainment of the Curious. Attributed to Mrs. Mercy Otis Warren. Boston: 1779. H

During the Revolution

Americana; or, A New Tale of the Genii. Allegorical Mask, in Five Acts. Author unknown. Baltimore: 1802. L C
Treats the theme of America's triumph over tyranny.

*The Blockheads; or, Fortunate Contractor. Opera, in Two Acts, as it was performed at New York. Author unknown. New York: reprinted, London: 1782. N Y P
"It embodies in light colloquial form * * * those satirical views of the French alliance which were then sincerely cherished by the Loyalists in New York and elsewhere."[1]

*The Patriots. Comedy, in Five Acts, by Colonel Robert Munford. Petersburg: 1798. L C
"The play of 'The Patriots' is a picture of real and pretended patriots."—From preface.

1783

A School for Soldiers; or, The Deserter. Dramatic Poem, by John Henry. Kingston (Jamaica): 1783.
First played at Kingston; produced at the John St. Theatre, N. Y., 1788.

1784

The Ladies of Castile. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Mrs. Mercy Otis Warren. Boston: 1790. L C
Written not later than 1784.

The Patriot Chief. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Peter Marcoe. Philadelphia: 1784. P
Foreign fable; patriotic theme.

*Virginia. Pastoral Drama, on the Birthday of an Illustrious Personage and the Return of Peace, February 11, 1784, by John Parke. Philadelphia: 1786; 1789. B P
Thought by Wegelin to be the first attempt to celebrate Washington's birthday.

1785

Sans Souci, alias Free and Easy; or, An Evening's Peep into a Polite Circle. Entire New Entertainment, in Three Acts. Author unknown. Boston: 1785. B A

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[1]Tyler, B, 227.

*The Mercenary Match. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Barna Bidwell. New Haven: 1785? L C
Performed by Yale students. Scene, Boston.

"Our author bids me just appear and say,
The characters which he unfolds to view
Are not sublime, although he thinks them true.
* * * * * *
But shows the miseries of a man and wife,
A simple circumstance of common life."
—From prologue.

1787

*Columbia and Britannia. Dramatic Piece, by a Citizen of the United States. New London; 1787. B P

"Improvement in elocution, for a select number of students, at a public school, was one principal design of the author."—From preface.

PART II, CHAPTER I

1787

*The Contrast. Comedy, in Five Acts, by Royall Tyler. Philadelphia: 1790; New York: 1887. L C

First played, John St. Theatre, N. Y., April 16, 1787. The title results from the contrast between Manley, Maria, and Jonathan, with native characteristics, and Dimple, Charlotte, and Jessamy, who imitate foreign manners.

*The Convention; or, The Columbian Father. Pageant, by John Henry. In MS.
John St. Theatre, N. Y., 1787.

*May-Day in Town; or, New York in an Uproar. Farce, by Royall Tyler. In MS.
John St. Theatre, N. Y., 1787.

*The Modest Soldier; or, Love in New York. Comedy, in Five Acts, by William Dunlap. In MS.
Written, 1787; never acted; Dunlap's first play.

1788

*The Father; or, American Shandyism. Comedy, in Five Acts, by William Dunlap. New York: 1789; 1887. L C

Written, 1788; performed at the New Theatre, N. Y., 1789; one of Dunlap's most successful plays.

*The Politician Out-Witted. Comedy, in Five Acts, by Samuel Low. New York: 1789. N Y P

Written, 1788; published by the author after rejection by the John St. Theatre managers.

1789

*The Better Sort; or, The Girl of Spirit. Farce, in Ten Scenes. Author unknown. Boston: 1789. H

Darby's Return. Comic Sketch, by William Dunlap. New York: 1789; 1899. L C
First played at the New Theatre, N. Y., 1789.

The Fair American. By Mrs. Carr. In MS.
John St. Theatre, N. Y., 1789.

*Occurrences of the Times; or, The Transactions of Five Days. Farce, in Two Acts. Author unknown. Boston: 1789. H

1790

The Battle of Eutaw Springs. Drama, in Five Acts. Author unknown. Charleston: c. 1790.
There is a play of similar title by William Joor.

The French Revolution. Drama. Author unknown. New Bedford, Mass.: 1793.
"Exhibited in the United Fraternity at Dartmouth, 1790."

The Sack of Rome. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Mrs. Mercy Otis Warren. Boston: 1790. L C

1792

The Generous Thief. Tragedy, by James Norval. Montreal: 1792.
Thought by Wegelin to be the only original play published in Canada prior to 1831.

The Yorker's Stratagem; or, Banana's Wedding. Farce, in Two Acts, by J. Robinson. In MS.
John St. Theatre, N. Y., 1792.

1793

The Wedding. Comedy, by William Dunlap. In MS.
John St. Theatre, N. Y., 1793.

1794

Death of Louis XVI. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by William Preston. Philadelphia: 1794. L C
Acted in Boston, 1797.

*The Embargo; or, Everyone Has His Own Opinion. Afterpiece. Author unknown. Never printed.
Played by the Philadelphia company, 1794.

The Fatal Deception; or, The Progress of Guilt. Tragedy, by William Dunlap. New York: 1807.
Park Theatre, N. Y., 1794.

The Female Patriot. Farce, by Mrs. Susanna Rowson. Philadelphia (?): 1794.
Played in Philadelphia, 1795.

Slaves in Algiers; or, A Struggle for Freedom. Play, interspersed with songs, in Three Acts, by Mrs. Susanna Rowson. Philadelphia: 1794.
Played at the New Theatres in Philadelphia and Baltimore.

*The Songs of Tammany; or, The Indian Chief. Serious Opera, by Ann Julia Hatton. New York: 1794.
Played, John St. Theatre, N. Y., 1794.

Before 1795

The American Soldier. Comedy, by John Henry. In MS. In library of "The Players," N. Y.

True Blue; or, The Sailor's Festival. Farce, by John Henry. In MS. In the library of "The Players," N. Y.

1795

Belisarius. Tragedy, by Margaretta B. Faugéres. New York: 1795. N Y P
Declined by managers of John St. Theatre.

*Medium; or, Happy Tea-Party. Comedy, attributed by Seilhamer to Royall Tyler. Never printed.
Played in the Boston Theatre, 1795.

*The Triumphs of Love; or, Happy Reconciliations. Comedy, by J. Murdock. Philadelphia: 1795. B
Played by the Philadelphia company, 1795.

*Virtue Triumphant. Comedy, in Five Acts, by a Lady. Boston: 1798. L C
Played, Federal St. Theatre, Boston, 1795, under the title, "The Medium."

*The Volunteers. Farce, by Mrs. Susanna Rowson. Philadelphia: 1795.
Played in Philadelphia, 1795: founded on the Whiskey Insurrection in Pennsylvania.

1796

The American Captive. Farce. Author unknown. In MS. Altered from "The Sultan."
John St. Theatre, N. Y., 1796.

*Americans in England. Comedy, by Mrs. Susanna Rowson. Boston: 1796.
Acted in Boston as the author's farewell to the stage, 1797.

The Archers; or, Mountaineers of Switzerland. Opera, in Three Acts, by William Dunlap. New York: 1796. N Y P
Played at Park Theatre, N. Y., 1796.

PART II, CHAPTER II

1796

Edwin and Angelia; or, The Banditti. Opera, in Three Acts, by Elihu Hubbard Smith. New York: 1797. B A
Played at the John St. Theatre, N. Y., 1796.

*The Traveller Returned. Comedy, in Five Acts, by a lady. Boston: 1798. L C
Pub. in Murray's "The Gleaner," III: 116-63; played in Boston, 1796.

1797

*Bunker Hill; or, The Death of General Warren. Historic Tragedy, in Five Acts, by John Daly Burk. New York: 1797; Baltimore: 1808; New York: 1817. L C
First played, Haymarket Theatre, Boston, 1798.

*Death of General Montgomery. Tragedy, by John Daly Burk. Philadelphia: 1797.

*The Georgia Spec; or, Land in the Moon. Comedy, in Three Acts, by Royall Tyler. Boston: 1797.
Performed in Boston; written to ridicule the speculation in wild Yazoo lands.

The Man of Fortitude; or, The Knight's Adventure. Drama, in Three Acts, by John Hodgkinson. New York: 1797. L C
Played at the John St. Theatre, 1797. Dunlap claims that the play is based upon one of his manuscripts, which had been previously submitted to Hodgkinson.

The Man of the Times; or, A Scarcity of Cash. Farce, by Mr. Beete, Comedian. Charleston: 1797. N Y P
Played at the Church St. Theatre, Charleston, S. C.

*West Point Preserved. Drama, by William Brown. Not printed.
Played at Haymarket Theatre, Boston, 1797; first of many André plays.

1798

All in a Bustle; or, The New House. Prelude written for and acted at the opening of the Park Theatre, N. Y., Jan. 29, 1798, by Wm. Milns. In MS.

Almoran and Hamet. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by William Munford. Richmond: 1798. L C

American Tars. Author unknown. In MS.
Park Theatre, N. Y., 1798.

*André. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by William Dunlap. New York; 1798.
First played at the New Park Theatre, N. Y., 1798. L C

Flash in the Pan. Farce, by William Milns. In MS.
Park Theatre, N. Y., 1798.

The Lad of Spirit; or, The Fool of Fortune. Author unknown.
Park Theatre, N. Y., 1798.

*The Politicians; or, A State of Things. Dramatic Piece, in Two Acts, by John Murduck. Philadelphia: 1798. L C

1799

The Federal Oath; or, Americans Strike Home. By John Williams. In MS.
Park Theatre, N. Y., 1799.

The Italian Father. Comedy, in Five Acts, by William Dunlap. New York: 1810. L C
Park Theatre, N. Y., 1799.

Rudolph; or, The Robbers of Calabria. Melodrama in Three Acts, by John D. Turnbull. Boston: 1799, 1807. L C
Performed at the Boston Theatre.

The Temple of Independence. Pageant, in honor of Washington's Birthday, by William Dunlap. In MS.
Park Theatre, N. Y., Feb. 22, 1799.

1800

Columbia's Daughters. Drama, by Mrs. Susanna Rowson. In MS.
Played at Mt. Vernon Gardens, N. Y., 1800.

Daranzel; or, The Persian Patriot. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by David Everett. Boston: 1800. B A
Performed at the Theatre in Boston.

Fayette in Prison; or, Misfortunes of the Great. Modern Tragedy, in Five Acts, by S. Elliot. Boston: 1800; Worcester: 1802. B P

Preservation; or, The Hovel of the Rocks. Play, by A. J. Williamson. Charleston: 1800.

Reparation; or, The School for Libertines. Dramatic Piece, in Three Acts, by Thomas Pike Lathy. Boston: 1800. L C
Performed at the Boston Theatre.

1801

Edwy and Elgiva. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Charles Jared Ingersoll. Philadelphia: 1801. L C
Performed at the New Theatre, 1801.

*Federalism Triumphant in the Steady Habits of Connecticut Alone; or, The Turnpike Road to a Fortune. Comic Opera or Political Farce, in Six Acts. Author unknown. Printed, 1802. B
As performed at the Theatres Royal and Aristocratic at Hartford and New Haven, October, 1801.

*Jefferson and Liberty; or, Celebration of the Fourth of March. Patriotic Tragedy; Picture of Corrupt Administration, in Five Acts, by "Nichols." Boston (?): 1801. B A

Peter the Great; or, The Russian Mother. Play, in Five Acts, by William Dunlap. New York: 1814. Park Theatre, N. Y., 1801. N Y P

*Rural Felicity. Comic Opera, in Three Acts, by John Minshull. New York: 1801. L C

1802

*A New World Planted; or, The Adventures of the Forefathers of New England who landed in Plymouth, December 22, 1620. Historical Drama, in Five Acts, by Joseph Croswell. Boston: 1802. B P

The Retrospect. Patriotic Pageant, by William Dunlap. In MS.
Park Theatre, N. Y., Monday, July 5, 1802.

1803

Liberty in Louisiana. Comedy, by James Workman. Charleston: 1803.
Charleston Theatre, 1803.

*The Sprightly widow, with the Frolics of Youth; or, A Speedy Way of Uniting the Sexes by Honorable Marriage. Comedy, in Five Acts, by John Minshull. New York: 1803. L C

1804

*The Merry Dames; or, The Humorist's Triumph over the Poet in Petticoats, and the Gallant Exploits of the Knight of the Comb. Comedy, in Three Acts, by John Minshull. New York: 1804. L C
"As performed at the Summer Theatre."

PART II, CHAPTER III

1805

Blow for Blow. Tragedy. Author unknown. Baltimore: 1805.

1806

Foscari; or, The Venetian Exile. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by John Blake White. Charleston: 1806. N Y P
Performed at the Charleston Theatre.

*Jonathan Postfree; or, The Honest Yankee. Musical Farce, in Three Acts, by L. Beach. New York: 1807. L C
Written for the stage in 1806 but never played.

Julia; or, The Wanderer. Comedy, in Five Acts, by John Howard Payne. New York: 1806. N Y P

Played as "The Wanderer" at Park Theatre, New York, 1806; Payne's first play, written at age of 14.

Manhattan Stage; or, Cupid in His Vagaries. Pantomimic Melodrama, by John Williams. In MS. Park Theatre, N. Y., 1806.

1807

*The Battle of Eutaw Springs, and Evacuation of Charleston; or, The Glorious 14th. of December, 1782. National Drama, in Five Acts, by William Joor. Charleston: 1807. B A
Played in the Charleston Theatre.

Bethlem Gabor, Lord of Transylvania; or, The Man-Hating Palatine. Historical Drama, in Three Acts, by John Daly Burk. Petersburg: 1807. N Y P

The Fatal Error. Tragedy, by Aaron W. Leland. Pittsfield: 1807: Petersboro: 1810.
Played at Williams College, 1807.

The Female Enthusiast. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Miss Pogson. Charleston: 1807. L C

Mysteries of the Castle; or, The Victim of Revenge. Drama, in Five Acts, by John Blake White. Charleston: 1807. N Y P

*Tears and Smiles. Comedy, in Five Acts, by James Nelson Barker. Philadelphia: 1808. L C
Performed at the Theatre, Philadelphia, 1807.

1808

*The Embargo; or, What News? By James Nelson Barker. In MS.
Adapted; played in Philadelphia, 1808.

*The Fox Chase. Comedy, in Five Acts, by Charles Breck. New York: 1808. L C
Played in the Theatres of Philadelphia and Baltimore.

The History of the Falcos. Comedy, in Four Acts, by Noah Bisbee, Jr., Walpole, N. H., 1808. N Y P

*The Indian Princess; or, La Belle Sauvage. Operatic Melodrama, in Three Acts, by James Nelson Barker. Philadelphia: 1808. L C
Performed in Philadelphia, 1808; New York, 1809.

The School for Prodigals. Comedy, in Five Acts, by Joseph Hutton. Philadelphia: 1808. L C
Performed at New Theatre, Philadelphia, 1809; at Chestnut St. Theatre, Philadelphia, 1808.

*The Trust. Comedy, in Five Acts, by Charles Breck. New York: 1808. L C

Wood Daemon; or, The Clock Has Struck. Drama, by John D. Turnbull. Boston: 1808. N Y P

1809

Alberta and Matilda. Drama, by N. W. Eaton. Boston: 1809.

*The Child of Feeling. Comedy, in Five Acts, by George Watterston. Georgetown: 1809. B A
Written to be played, but was not.

*Fashionable Follies. Comedy, in Five Acts, by Joseph Hutton. New York: 1809; Philadelphia: 1815. B

Harlequin Penatahah; or, The Genii of the Algonquins. Author unknown. In MS.
Park Theatre, N. Y. 1809.

*Love and Friendship; or, Yankee Notions. Comedy, in Three Acts, by A. B. Lindsley. New York: 1809. L C
Performed, probably 1809, the author taking a part.

The Wounded Hussar; or, Rightful Heir. Musical Afterpiece, in Two Acts, by Joseph Hutton. Philadelphia; 1809. N Y P
Played in Philadelphia at the New Theatre and Chestnut St. Theatre, 1809.

1810

The Clergyman's Daughter. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by William Charles White. Boston: 1810. L C
Played in Boston.

The Orphan of Prague. Drama, in Five Acts, by Joseph Hutton. New York: 1810. L C

1812

The American Captives; or, The Siege of Tripoli. By James Ellison. In MS.
Played in Boston, 1812.

Marmion; or, The Battle of Flodden Field. Drama, in Five Acts, by James Nelson Barker. New York: 1816. L C
Played at Park Theatre, N. Y., 1812. Adapted from Scott's Marmion; performed with success for many years.

Modern Honor; or, The Victim of Revenge. Tragedy, by John Blake White. Charleston: 1812.

Paul and Alexis; or, The Orphans of the Rhine. Melodrama, in Two Acts, by Mordecai Manuel Noah. Boston 1821.
Played at Charleston, 1812.

*Yankee Chronology; or, Hurrah for the Constitution! Musical Interlude, in One Act, by William Dunlap. New York: 1812.
Played at Park Theatre, N. Y. 1812. L C

1813

The Rescue; or, The Villain Unmasked. Farce, in Three Acts, R. D'Elville. New York: 1813. N Y P

The Russian Banquet. Drama, by "H. Snapdragon." Boston: 1813.

*She Would Be a Soldier: or, The Plains of Chippewa. Historical Drama, in Three Acts, by Mordecai Manuel Noah. New York: 1816. N Y P
Performed in Philadelphia, 1813; New York, 1819.

1814

Alexis, the Czarewitz. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by A. Eustaphieve. Boston: 1814. B A
Played in Boston, 1814.

1815

*Battle of New Orleans. By William Dunlap. In MS.
Played at Park Theatre, N. Y. 1815.

The Downfall of Buonaparte. Tragedy, by Edward Hitchcock. Deerfield: 1815 (?).

The Festival of Peace. Patriotic Allegory. Author unknown. In MS.
Played at Park Theatre, N. Y., 1815.

The Yankey in England. Comedy, in Five Acts, by David Humphreys. Connecticut: 1815. B A
Dunlap tried to have it produced but failed.

Zamor. Tragedy, by James G. Percival. New Haven: 1820.
Played at Yale Commencement, 1815. B A

PART III, CHAPTER I

Soon After 1812

*The Bucktails; or, Americans in England. Comedy, in Five Acts, by James Kirke Paulding. Philadelphia: 1847. N Y P

1816

The Battle of New Orleans. By C. E. Grice. In MS.
Played at the Park Theatre, N. Y., 1816.

1818

Alberti. Play, in Five Acts, by Isaac Harby. Charleston: 1819. L C
Played at the Charleston Theatre, 1818. At the second representation in Charleston, 1819, President Monroe was present.

Brutus; or, The Fall of Tarquin. Historical Tragedy, in Five Acts, by John Howard Payne. London: 1818-19; New York: 1819. B A
First acted at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, London, 1818. First acted in the U. S., Park Theatre, N. Y., 1820. This is the first drama of superior quality by an American author.

Inductum Parliamentum. Farce, in One Act. Author unknown. Published in 1818.
Refers to a law enacted by the New York Legislature, on the petition of a Shaker woman to have the marriage between herself and husband dissolved.

*The Knight of the Rum Bottle and Co.; or, The Speechmaker. Musical Farce, in Five Acts, by Daniel Rogers. New York: 1818. B

1819

Altorf. Tragedy, by Frances Wright. Philadelphia: 1819; New York: 1819. L C
First represented in the Theatre of New York, 1819.

Catherine Brown, the Converted Cherokee. Missionary Drama, by a Lady. Author unknown. New Haven: 1819. N Y P

Otho. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by John Neal. Boston: 1819. L C
Written for Cooper, the tragedian.

The Sea Serpent; or, Glouster Hoax. Dramatic, Jeu d'Esprit, in Three Acts, by William Crafts, Charleston: 1819. N Y P

*Things As They Will Be; or, All Barkers Are Not Biters. Farce, in Three Acts, by V. Taylor. New York: 1819. B

*Tricks of the Times; or, The World of Quacks. Farce. Author unknown. New York: 1819.
Satire on New Yorkers of the day.

Triumph of Liberty; or, Louisiana Preserved. National Drama, by John Blake White. Charleston: 1819.

*Wall Street; or, Ten Minutes before Three. Farce, in Three Acts, by Mead. New York: 1819. L C

1820

The Forest of Rosenwald; or, The Travellers Benighted. Melodrama, in Two Acts, by J. Stokes. New York: 1832. N Y P
Played at the Park Theatre, N. Y., 1820.

The Mountain Torrent. Melodrama, in Two Acts, by S. B. Judah. New York: 1820.
Performed at New York Theatre, 1820.

The Night Watch; or, the Pirate's Den. Melodrama, by a Gentleman of Boston. Boston: 1820.

Percy's Masque. Drama, in Five Acts, by James Abraham Hillhouse. New York: 1820. N Y P

*Siege of Tripoli. By Mordecai Manuel Noah. In MS.
Acted at Park Theatre, 1820.

1821

*Logan, The Last of the Race of Shikellemus. Dramatic Piece, in Four Acts, by Dr. Joseph Doddridge. Buffaloe Creek, Va.: 1823. L C
First recited at the Buffaloe Seminary, 1821.

*Marion; or, The Hero of Lake George. Drama, in Three Acts, by Mordecai Manuel Noah. New York, 1822. L C
Played at Park Theatre, New York, 1821.

Onliata; or, The Indian Heroine. By F. Deffenbach. Philadelphia: 1821.

The Prophecy; or, Love and Friendship. Drama in Three Acts, by Manly B. Fowler. New York: 1821. N Y P

Therese, The Orphan of Geneva. Drama, by John Howard Payne. New York: 1821. B A
Acted at the Anthony St. Theatre, New York, 1821.

1822

Adeline; or, Seduction. Melodrama, in Three Acts, by John Howard Payne. New York: 1822. N Y P
Performed at Park Theatre, N. Y., 1822.

*The Deed of Gift. Comic Opera, in Three Acts, by Samuel Woodworth. New York: 1822. L C
Performed at the Boston Theatre.

The Expelled Collegian. Farce, by Charles Powell Clinch. In MS.
Played at the Park Theatre, N. Y., 1822.

The Grecian Captive; or, The Fall of Athens. Drama, by Mordecai Manuel Noah. New York: 1822. N Y P
Played at the Park Theatre, N. Y., 1822.

*The Green Mountain Boys. Author unknown. In MS.
Played at the Park Theatre, N. Y., 1822.

*Philip; or, The Aborigines. Drama. Author unknown.
New York: 1822.

Rosa. Melodrama, in Three Acts, by W. G. Hyer. New York: 1822. L C

The Rose of Arragon; or, The Vigil of St. Mark. Melodrama, in Two Acts, by Samuel Benjamin Herbert Judah. New York: 1822. L C
Played at the Park Theatre, N. Y., 1822.

Soul. Mystery, by Arthur C. Coxe: New York: 1822.

*A Tale of Lexington. National Comedy, in Three Acts, by Samuel Benjamin Herbert Judah. New York: 1823. L C
Performed, 1822.

1823

The Avenger's Vow. By Charles Powell Clinch. In MS.
Played at the Park Theatre, N. Y., 1823.

Clari, The Maid of Milan. Opera, in Three Acts, by John Howard Payne. New York: 1823 B A
First performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, London, 1823. "Home Sweet Home" was sung for the first time in this opera.

The Enterprise. Opera, by Colonel Hamilton.
Played in Baltimore, 1823.

The Fall of Iturbide; or, Mexico Delivered. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Henry K. Strong. Pittsfield: 1823.

Merlin. Drama, by Lambert A. Wilmer. Philadelphia: 1823.

*The Siege of Algiers. Tragi-Comedy, in Five Acts, by Jonathan S. Smith. Philadelphia: 1823. L C

*Superstition. Tragedy, by James Nelson Barker. Philadelphia: 1823. B
Played in Philadelphia, 1824.

1824

*Blackbeard. Comedy, in Four Acts, by Lemuel Sawyer. Washington: 1824. L C

Charles the Second; or, The Merry Monarch. Comedy, in Two Acts, by John Howard Payne. London, n. d.; Philadelphia: 1829. B A
Performed at the Park Theatre, N. Y., 1824.

Lafayette; or, The Castle of Olmutz. Drama, in Three Acts, by Samuel Woodworth. New York: 1824. L C
Acted at the Park Theatre, N. Y., 1824.

*The Saw Mill; or, A Yankee Trick. Comic Opera in Two Acts, by Micah Hawkins. New York: 1824. B
Played at the Park Theatre, 1825.

1825

Briar Cliff; A Tale of the Revolution. Drama, by George Pope Morris. In MS.
Chatham Theatre, N. Y., 1825.

*The Forest Rose; or, American Farmers. Pastoral Opera, in Two Acts, by Samuel Woodworth. New York: 1825. L C
First acted at Chatham Theatre, N. Y., 1825; Simson was the original Jonathan of the piece.

*The Forgers. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by John Blake White. Published, 1857. L C
Performed at the Charleston Theatre, 1825.

Haddad. Dramatic Poem, by James Abraham Hillhouse. New York: 1825. N Y P

*Montgomery; or, The Falls of Montmorency. Drama, in Three Acts, by Henry James Finn. Boston: 1825. L C
Acted at the Boston Theatre.

Phelles, King of Tyre; or, The Downfall of Tyranny. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Reuben Potter. New York, 1825.
Performed at the Park Theatre, N. Y., 1825.

The Widow's Son. Play, by Samuel Woodworth. New York: 1825.
Acted at the Park Theatre, N. Y., 1825.

1826

King's Bridge Cottage. Drama, in Two Acts, by Samuel Woodworth. New York: 1826.
Revolutionary piece; performed at the Amateur Theatre.

*Pontiac; or, The Siege of Detroit. Drama, in Three Acts, by Alexander Macomb. Boston: 1835. L C
Produced at the National Theatre, Washington; probably written, 1826.

Richelieu; or, The Broken Heart. Domestic Tragedy, by John Howard Payne. New York: 1826.
Performed at Covent Garden, London.

1827

Captain Morgan; or, The Conspiracy Unveiled. Farce, in Two Acts, by Charles Talbot. Rochester: 1827. N Y P

The Intolerants. Three First Acts of Things Among Us. Author unknown. Philadelphia: 1827.

1828

The Female Spy. By J. O. Phillips.
Played in New York, 1828.

Gloriana; or, The Enchantress of Elba. Drama, by Lambert A. Wilmer. Philadelphia: 1828.

Giordano. Tragedy, by James Lawson. New York: 1832. N Y P
Played at the Park Theatre, N. Y., 1828.

*The Hero of Two Wars. Drama, in Five Acts. Author unknown. Cincinnati: 1828. N Y P
A political attack on Andrew Jackson.

*The Indian Prophecy. National Drama, in Two Acts, by Geo. W. Parke Curtis. Georgetown, D. C.; 1828. B
Performed in Philadelphia and elsewhere.

*Jonathan in England. Comedy, in Three Acts. Adapted from Colman's "Who Wants a Guinea?" by J. H. Hackett. Boston. L C
Performed at the Park Theatre, New York, 1828.

*Rip Van Winkle; or, The Spirits of the Catskill Mountains. Author unknown.
Played at Albany, N. Y., May 26, 1828. Thomas Flynn acted "Rip;" said to be the first production of this play.

1829

*The Eighth of January. Drama, in Three Acts, by Richard Penn Smith. Philadelphia: 1829. L C
Performed in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington.

The Fair Maid of Perth. By D. V. Bell. In MS.
Played at the Lafayette Theatre, N. Y.; also at the New Bowery Theatre, N. Y. 1829.

Kathleen O'Neil; or, A Picture of Feudal Times in Ireland. Melodrama, in Three Acts, by George Pepper. Philadelphia: 1832. L C
Performed at the Lafayette Theatre, N. Y., not later than 1829.

*The Times; or, Life in New York. Comedy, Author unknown. Never printed.
Played at the Park Theatre, N. Y., 1829.

PART III, CHAPTER II

1829

*The Manhattoes. Indian Drama. Author unknown. In MS.
Played at the Park Theatre, N. Y., 1829.

*Metamora; or, The Last of the Wampanoags. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by John Augustus Stone. In MS.

First played at the Park Theatre, N. Y., December 15, 1829. Long and successfully played by Edwin Forrest, who gave the author $500 for the play.

*Rip Van Winkle; or, The Demons of the Catskill Mountains. National Drama, in Two Acts, by John Kerr. Philadelphia: n. d. B.
Played at Park Theatre, N. Y., 1829, with Hackett in the title role.

*A Trip to Niagara; or, Travellers in America. Farce, in Three Acts, by William Dunlap. N. Y.: 1830. L C
Played at the New Bowery Theatre, N. Y., 1829.

The Usurper. Historical Tragedy, by Dr. James McHenry. Philadelphia: 1829.
Played at the old Chestnut St. Theatre, Philadelphia.

1830

*Carabasset. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Nathaniel Deering. Portland: 1830. L C

*Down East; or, The Malitia Training. Farce. Author unknown. In MS.
Played at Park Theatre, N. Y., 1830.

*The Fall of Tecumseh. Drama, by Wm. H. C. Hosmer. Published, 1830.

First of May in New York; or, Double or Quit. Farce, by Charles Powell Clinch. In MS.
Played at Park Theatre, N. Y., 1830.

The Indian Wife. Author unknown. In MS.
Played at Park Theatre, N. Y., 1830.

Irma; or, The Prediction. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by James H. Kennicott. New York: 1830. B P
Performed at the American Theatre, New Orleans, 1830. This play gained a prize of $300 which was offered by James H. Caldwell, manager of the American Theatre, New Orleans.

*Miantonomah and Narrahmattah. From Cooper's "Wept of Wish-Ton-Wish." New York and London.
Played at Park Theatre, N. Y., 1830.

Paul Clifford. By J. O. Phillips.
Played at Park Theatre, N. Y., 1830.

*Pocahontas; or, The Settlers of Virginia. National Drama, in Three Acts, by George Washington Parke Custis. Philadelphia: 1830; 1839. L C
First acted at Park Theatre, N. Y., 1830.

*The Reign of Reform; or, Yankee Doodle Court. By Mrs. Margaret Botsford. Baltimore: 1830. L C

Sertorius; or, The Roman Patriot. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by David Paul Brown. Philadelphia: 1830. L C

1831

The Evil Eye. Melodrama, in Two Acts, by Jonas B. Phillips. New York: 1831. N Y P
Performed at the Bowery Theatre, N. Y.

The Gladiator. Play, in Five Acts, by Robert Montgomery Bird. Philadelphia: 1837.
First produced in Philadelphia, 1831; one of Forrest's chief American plays.

*The Lion of the West. Comedy, by James Kirke Paulding. New York: 1831.
Repeatedly acted with success.

The Magdalen Report. Farce, by "Peter Pendergrass, Sr." New York: 1831.

Oraloosa; or, The Last of the Incas. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Robert Montgomery Bird.
Played in Philadelphia, 1831.

1832

*The Cradle of Liberty; or, Boston in 1775. Adaptation from Cooper's "Lionel Lincoln," by Captain Stephen E. Glover. New York. L C
First played at the Tremont Theatre, Boston, 1832.

*The Doleful Tragedy of the Raising of Jo. Burnham; or, The Cat Let Out of the Bag. Comedy, in Five Acts, by B. F. Kendall. Woodstock, Vt.: 1832. L C

1833

Camillus; or, The Self-Exiled Patriot. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Jonas B. Phillips, New York: 1833. L C
Performed in Philadelphia, 1833.

1834

The Broker of Bogota. Tragedy, by Robert Montgomery Bird.
Played in New York, 1834.

Euphemia of Messina. Tragedy, by Mrs. Elizabeth Ellet. New York: 1834.

The Hunter of Monadnoc. Author unknown. Dedham: 1834.

*The Patriot; or, Union and Freedom. Drama, in Three Acts, by George Lionel Stevens. Boston: 1834. L C

The Six Degrees of Crime; or, Wine, Women, Gambling, Theft, Murder, and The Scaffold. Melodrama, in Six Parts, by Frederick S. Hill. New York. L C
First played at the Warren St. Theatre, Boston, 1834.

Waldimar. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by John J. Bailey. New York: 1834. L C
Played in New York and Philadelphia by Chas. Kean.

Yankee Land. Comedy, by C. A. Logan. New York.
Played at Park Theatre, N. Y.? 1834.

1835

David and Uriah. Drama, in Five Acts. Author unknown. Philadelphia: 1835.

Imola. Tragedy, in Five Acts. The Three Milanese. Tragedy, in Five Acts. Author unknown. New York: 1835.

Orlando; or, A Woman's Virtue. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Horatio N. Moore. Philadelphia: 1835.

Teresa Contarini. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Mrs. Elizabeth Ellet. Philadelphia: 1835. N Y P
Performed at Park Theatre, N. Y., 1835.

The Wag of Maine. Comedy, by C. A. Logan.
Played, 1835.

1836

The Bride of Genoa. Play, in Five Acts, by Epes Sargent. Boston: 1836.

Gaulantus. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Nathaniel H. Bannister. Cincinnati: 1836.

Oluph. Tragedy. Author unknown. New York: 1836.

The Prophet of St. Paul's. Play, in Five Acts, by David Paul Brown. Philadelphia: 1836.

*Tecumseh; or, The Battle of the Thames. National Drama, in Five Acts, by R. Emmons. Philadelphia: 1836. N Y P

1837

England's Iron Days. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Nathaniel H. Bannister. New Orleans: 1837.

*Pocahontas. Historical Drama, in Five Acts, by Robert Dale Owen. New York: 1837. N Y P

Velasco. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Epes Sargent. Boston: 1837; New York: 1839. N Y P
Played at the Tremont Theatre, Boston, 1837.

1838

*The Critique of the Vision of Rubeta. Dramatic Sketch, in One Act, by Laughton Osborn. Philadelphia: 1838.
Written to call attention to his satirical epic, "The Vision of Rubeta."

Ernest Maltravers. Drama, in Three Acts, by Louisa H. Medina. New York: 1857. N Y P
Played in Boston, 1838.

The Gentleman of Lyons; or, The Marriage Contract. Play, in Five Acts, by Nathaniel H. Bannister. New York: 1838. B A

1839

Athenia of Damascus. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Rufus Dawes. New York: 1839. N Y P

Aylmere; or, The Bondman of Kent. Tragedy, by Robert Taylor Conrad. Philadelphia: 1852. L C

Originally written in 1835 as "The Noble Yeoman;" rewritten in 1839 for Forrest as "Aylmere; or, The Kentish Bondman;" published in 1852 as above given; republished in 1868 as "Jack Cade, the Captain of the Commons."

Bianca Visconti; or, The Heart Overtasked. Play, in Five Acts, by Nathaniel P. Willis, New York: 1839. N Y P

*The Bride of Fort Edward. Dramatic Story, in Six Parts, by Delia S. Bacon. New York: 1839. L C
Founded on an incident of the Revolution.

*Captain Kid; or, The Wizard of the Sea. Drama, in Four Acts, by Joseph Stevens Jones. New York. N Y P
Played at the National Theatre, Boston, 1839.

*The Dish of Frogs. Dramatic Sketch, by "M. Soupetard." New York: 1839.
Political satire.

The Dwarf. Dramatic Poem, in Ten Scenes, by James Rees. New York: 1839. L C

*The Foundling; or, Yankee Fidelity. Drama, in Two Acts, by R. C. MacLellan. Philadelphia: 1839. B

Hannah, the Mother of Samuel the Prophet and Judge of Israel. Sacred Drama, by Mrs. L. J. Hall. Boston: 1839. B A

Moll Pitcher; or, The Fortune-Teller of Lynn. Drama, in Four Acts, by Joseph Stevens Jones, Boston: 1855. N Y P
Produced at the Boston National. 1839.

*Solon Shingle; or, The People's Lawyer. Comedy, in Two Acts, by Joseph Stevens Jones. Boston: 1856; 1890. N Y P
First played at the National Theatre, Boston, 1839.

Tortesa, the Usurer. Play, in Five Acts, by N. P. Willis. New York: 1839. N Y P

*Whigs and Democrats; or, Love of No Politics. Comedy, in Three Acts, by James E. Heath. Richmond: 1839. L C

Zula. Tragedy, in Four Acts, by a Kentuckian. Philadelphia: 1839. B P

1840

Bluebeard. Story, in Five Acts, by John Lothrop Motley. New York: 1840. Published in vols. 29 and 30 of the "New World." B P

Count Julian. Tragedy, by George Henry Calvert. Baltimore: 1840. N Y P

*The Politicians. Comedy, in Five Acts, by Cornelius Mathews. New York: 1840. L C

Ramanzo, The Conscience-Striken Brigand. Tragic Play, in Five Acts, by John N. Smith. New York: 1840.

*West Point; or, A Tale of Treason. Historical Drama, in Three Acts, by Joseph Breck, Baltimore: 1840. L C
Dramatized from Ingraham's Romance of American History.

1841

*Yankee Peddler; or, Old Times in Virginia. Farce, in One Act, by Morris Barnett. New York. L C
First played in St. Louis, 1841.

1842

*The Brazen Drum; or, The Yankee in Poland. National Drama, in Two Acts, by Silas S. Steele. Philadelphia: 1846. B
Acted at Philadelphia, 1842.

*The Death of Nathan Hale. Drama, in Five Acts, by David Trumbull. Hartford: 1845. L C
Played at Yale commencement, 1842.

The Maid of Saxony; or, Who's the Traitor? Opera, in Three Acts, by George Pope Morris. New York: 1842, 1843, and 1854. N Y P

The Spanish Student. Play, in Three Acts, by Henry W. Longfellow. Cambridge: 1843. L C
First published in serial form, 1842.

Zamba; or, The Insurrection. Dramatic Poem, in Five Acts, by Mrs. Elizabeth Ricord. Cambridge: 1842. N Y P
Scene, the West Indies.

1843

De Lara; or, The Moorish Bride. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Mrs. Caroline Hentz. Tuscaloosa, Ala.: 1843, N Y P
Awarded a prize of $500 offered by Pelby of the Boston Theatre.

Macbeth Travestie. By W. K. Northall. New York: 1847.
First played, 1843. N Y P

1844

Charlotte Corday. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Amos C. Morey. New York: 1844.

The Guests of Brazil; or, The Martyrdom of Frederick. Tragedy, by Gurdon Huntington. New York: 1844. N Y P

The Last of the Plantagenets. Tragic Drama, in Three Acts, by Caroline M. Keteltas. New York: 1844.

The Spanish Exile. Play, in Three Acts, by Augustus J. Requier. Charleston: 1844.

*Tecumseh and The Prophet of the West. Original Historical Israel-Indian Tragedy, in Five Acts, by George Jones, London: 1844. L C

Vermont Wool-Dealer. Farce, in One Act, by C. A. Logan.
Played in Cincinnati, 1844.

1845

*Anthony Wayne. National Drama, by James Rees.
Played in Philadelphia, 1845.

*The Branded Hand. Dramatic Sketch, Commemorative of the Tragedies at the South in the Winter of 1844-45, by Mrs. Sophia Little. Pawtucket: 1845. B

PART III, CHAPTER III

1845

*Fashion; or, Life in New York. Comedy, in Five Acts, by Mrs. Anna Cora (Ogden) (Mowatt) Ritchie. New York: 1854. L C
First played, March 24, 1845, at Park Theatre, New York.

Leonora. Lyrical Drama, in Three Acts, by J. R. Fry. Philadelphia: 1845.

*Putnam, the Iron Son of '76. National Military Drama, in Three Acts, by Nathaniel H. Bannister. Boston: 1859. N Y P
Played in N. Y., 1845.

The Silver Head. Comedy, by Laughton Osborn. New York: 1867.
Written, 1845.

1846

*The Road to Fortune. New American Comedy, in Five Acts, by Eugene Raux. Philadelphia: 1846. B

1847

Armand; or, The Peer and the Peasant. Play, in Five Acts, by Mrs. Anna Cora (Ogden) (Mowatt) Ritchie. New York: 1851. L C
First played, 1847, Park Theatre, N. Y.

*Arnold; or, The Treason of West Point. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Horatio Hubbell. Philadelphia: 1847. L C

The Candid Critic. The Lampoon. Dramatic pieces, by Epes Sargent, Boston: 1847.

Metamora; or, The Last of the Pollywogs. Burlesque, in Two Acts, by John Brougham. Boston. L C
Played at the Adelphi Theatre, Boston, 1847; burlesque on J. A. Stone's Metamora (1829).

1848

Calaynos. Tragedy, by George Henry Boker. Philadelphia: 1848. L C

*A Glance at New York. Local Drama, in Two Acts, by Benjamin A. Baker. New York: 1857. B P
First Produced, 1848.

1849

Alfred and Inez; or, The Siege of St. Augustine. Drama, in Five Acts. Author unknown. Mobile: 1849.
Founded on the invasion of Florida by the Carolinians in 1702.

The Attorney. Drama, in Three Acts. Author unknown. Fall River, Mass.: 1849.

*Earning a Living. Comedy, in Five Acts, by J. H. L. McCrackan. New York: 1849. B P

*The Shaker Lovers. Drama, in One Act, by Samuel D. Johnson. Boston: 1857. L C
First played, 1849, at the National Theatre, Boston.

Before 1850

*The Wept of the Wish-Ton-Wish. Drama, in Two Acts. Dramatized from Cooper's novel. New York: 1856. N Y P
Adapted before 1850.

1850

Anne Boleyn. Tragedy, by George Henry Boker. Philadelphia: 1850. L C

Fiesco. Tragedy, by William Elliott. New York: 1850. N Y P

The Immortal. Dramatic Romance, by James Nack. New York: 1850. L C

Mohammed, The Arabian Prophet. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by George Henry Miles. Boston: 1850.
Miles received $1000 for this play from Edwin Forrest who pronounced it the best original tragedy submitted to him in a play-writing contest.

*Our Jemimy; or, Connecticut Courtship. Farce, in One Act, by H. J. Conway. New York. L C
Performed at Broadway Theatre, N. Y.

The Outlaw. Dramatic Sketch, by Eliza G. Lewis. Brooklyn: 1850. L C

Riego; or, The Spanish Martyr. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by John Robertson. Richmond: 1850. N Y P

*Rip Van Winkle. Romantic Drama, in Two Acts. Adapted by Charles Burke. N Y P
Author acted "Rip" in Philadelphia: 1850.

The Romance of the Ring. Drama, in Three Acts, by James Nack. New York: 1850.

The Roman Tribute. Tragedy, by Mrs. Elizabeth Smith. New York: 1850. L C

*The Very Age! Comedy in Five Acts, by Edward Sherman Gould. New York: 1850. L C

1851

Abrak, The Conspirator. Tragedy, by J. S. Moore. Washington: 1851.

*Arnold. Drama, by James R. Orton. New York: 1851. L C

Bozzaris. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Nathaniel Deering. Portland: 1851. B A

Caius Gracchus. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Mrs. Louisa S. McCord. New York: 1851. N Y P

The Compact. Mask, by Charles J. Cannon. New York: 1851.

Leonor de Guzman. Tragedy, by George Henry Boker. Boston: 1857. L C
Written, 1851.

*Nature's Nobleman. Comedy, in Five Acts, by Henry O. Pardey. New York: 1854. L C
First played, 1851, in N. Y.

*Norman Maurice; or, The Man of the People. American Drama, in Five Acts, by William Gilmore Simms. Richmond: 1851. L C

Rizzio. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Charles J. Cannon. New York: 1851.

Shandy Maguire; or, The Bould Boy of the Mountain. Drama, in Two Acts, by James Pilgrim. Boston: 1855. L C
First played in Philadelphia, 1851.

1852

*The Highland Treason. Revolutionary Drama, in Five Acts, by Elihu G. Holland. Boston: 1852. L C

*Hiram Hireout; or, Followed by Fortune. Farce, in One Act, by H. J. Conway. Chicago: 1852.

The Mistake on Both Sides. Petite Comedy, by Mary Sanderson. New York: 1852.

*Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly. Domestic Drama, in Six Acts, dramatized by George L. Aiken. New York: N Y P
First played at the Troy Museum, 1852.

*Witchcraft. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Cornelius Mathews. New York: 1852. L C

Before 1853

*Yankee Land, Comedy, in Two Acts, by C. A. Logan. Boston.

1853

Calmstorm, the Reformer. Dramatic Comment, probably by Cornelius Mathews. New York: 1853. N Y P

Francesca da Rimini. Tragedy, by George Henry Boker. Boston: 1857. L C
Written in 1853. First produced in 1855.

*The Mormons; or, Life at Salt Lake City. Drama, in Three Acts, by Thomas Dunn English. New York: 1853. L C
Performed at Burton's Theatre, N. Y., 1858.

The Oath of Office. Tragedy, by James Cannon. New York: 1854. N Y P
Written, 1853.

*Old New York; or, Democracy in 1689. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Mrs. Elizabeth O. Smith. New York: 1853. L C

1854

Blondel. Historical Fancy, in Two Acts, by George E. Rice. Boston: 1854. B A

The Golden Age to Come. Sacred Drama, by J. J. Austin. Boston: 1854. N Y P

*A Good Fellow. Comedy, in One Act, by Charles M. Walcot. New York: 1856. L C
Played at Wallack's Theatre, N. Y., 1854.

*Guttle and Gulpit. Farce, in Two Acts, by "Tally Rhand." New York: 1854. L C

Kathleen O'More; or, The Pledge of Love. Drama, in Three Acts, by Alfred Walker. Utica: 1854.

The Priestess. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Epes Sargent. Boston: 1854.

*The School for Politics. Dramatic Novel, by Charles E. Gayarré. New York: 1854. N Y P

The Spanish Wife. Play, in Five Acts, by Samuel M. Schmucker. New York: 1854.

Woman's Witchcraft; or, The Curse of Coquetry. Dramatic Romance, by Carinne L'Estrange. Philadelphia: 1854.

*The Young Man About Town. Comedy, by L. B. Chase. New York: 1854. B

1855

*The Christian Slave. Drama, on part of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," by Harriet B. Stowe. Boston: 1855.

Henry IV of Germany. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Thomas J. F. Kelley. New York: 1855.

Morca, the Blind Page. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Henry Hooper. Cincinnati: 1855.

1856

*André. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by William W. Lord. New York: 1856. L C

Andy Blake; or, The Irish Diamond. Comedy, in Two Acts, by Dion Boucicault. New York: 1856. L C

The Double Deceit. Comedy, by Laughton Osborn. New York: 1867. Written 1856.

*Dred; or, The Dismal Swamp. Play, in Five Acts, dramatized by John Brougham. New York: 1856. L C
Played at the Bowery Theatre.

*False Pretenses; or, Both Sides of Good Society. Comedy, in Five Acts, by Cornelius Mathews. New York: 1856. L C
As performed at Burton's Theatre.

*Franklin. Historical Drama, in Five Acts, by John Brougham. New York. Copyright, 1856. L C

Grimaldi; or, The Life of an Actress. Drama, in Five Acts, by Dion Boucicault. New York: 1864. L C
Played in N. Y., 1856.

The Gun-Maker of Moscow. Melodrama, in Three Acts, by John Brougham. New York: 1856. L C

*Hiawatha; or, Ardent Spirits and Laughing Water. Musical Extravaganza, in Two Acts, by Charles M. Walcot. New York: 1856. N Y P
Played at Wallack's Theatre, 1856.

*The Irish Yankee; or, The Birthday of Freedom. Drama, in Three Acts, by John Brougham. New York: 1856. L C
First played at the St. Charles Theatre, New Orleans.

The Italian Bride. Play, in Five Acts. Author unknown. Savannah: 1856.

*Life in New York; or, Tom and Jerry on a Visit. Comic Drama, in Two Acts, by John Brougham. New York: 1856. L C

Like unto Like. In Three Acts, by George Henry Calvert. Boston: 1856. N Y P

*The Miller of New Jersey; or, The Prison Hulk. Historic Drama—Spectacle, in Three Acts, by John Brougham. New York: 1859. L C
Performed at the Bowery Theatre, 1856.

*My Wife's Mirror. Comedy, in One Act, by Edward G. P. Wilkins. New York. L C
Played at Laura Keene's Theatre, N. Y., 1856.

The Montanini. Comedy, by Laughton Osborn. New York: 1868.
Written, 1856.

*Our Gal. Farce, in One Act, by S. D. Johnson. New York. Copyright, 1856.

*Pocahontas; or, The Gentle Savage. Extravaganza, in Two Acts, by John Brougham. New York: 1856 (?). L C
Performed at Wallack's Theatre.

*Poltroonius. Tragic Farce, in One Act, by Edward F. Head. Boston: 1856. B
A satire on Brooks's assault of Charles Sumner in the Senate.

The Red Mask; or, The Wolf of Lithuania. Melodrama, in Three Acts, by John Brougham. New York: 1856. L C

*Self. Original Comedy, in Three Acts, by Mrs. Sidney F. Bateman. New York: 1856. L C
First performed at Burton's Chamber St. Theatre, Oct. 27, 1856.

*Sibyl. Tragedy, by John Savage. New York: 1865. L C
Played at St. Louis, 1858; written, 1856.

*The Streets of New York. Extravaganza, in Three Acts. Author unknown. Published, 1856. L C

Tan-Go-Ru-A. Historical Drama, by H. C. M. Philadelphia; 1856. N Y P

*Temptation; or, The Irish Emigrant. Comic Drama, in Two Acts, by John Brougham. New York: 1856. L C

The Wife of Seaton; or, The Siege of Berwick. Historic Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Eliza Townsend. Boston: 1856. L C

The Will and the Way. In Five Acts, by George Henry Calvert. Boston: 1856. N Y P

*Young New York. Comedy, in Three Acts, by Edward G. P. Wilkins. New York. N Y P
Played at Laura Keene's Theatre, 1856.

1857

Beatrice; or, The False and the True. By Oliver S. Leland. Boston; 1858. L C
Played in Philadelphia, 1857.

The Betrothed. Play, by George Henry Boker. Boston: 1857. L C

The Buccaneer. Tragic Opera, in Three Acts, by George W. Stratton. Manchester, N. H.; 1857.

Caprice; or, A Woman's Heart. Comedy, in Three Acts, by Oliver S. Leland. Boston: 1857. L C

*Columbus el Filibustero! Extravaganza, in Two Acts, by John Brougham. New York: 1858. L C
Performed at Burton's Theatre, 1857.

Cortez, the Conqueror. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Lewis F. Thomas. Washington: 1857. L C

Duthmarno. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Albert T. S. Barnitz. Cincinnati: 1857.

Flora; or, The Gipsy's Frolic. Pastoral Opera, in Three Acts, by Thomas Ward. New York: 1858. N Y P
First played, 1857.

*Fashions and Follies of Washington Life. Play, in Five Acts, by Henry Clay Preuss. Washington: 1857. L C

*The Golden Eagle; or, The Privateer of '76. National Drama, in Three Acts, by J. Burdette Howe. B A

Leonore; or, The World's Own. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Julia Ward Howe. New York: 1857. N Y P

*A Live Woman in the Mines; or, Pike County Ahead. Local Play, in Two Acts. Author unknown.
Copyright, 1857. L C

*Love in '76. Comedietta, in Two Acts, by Oliver Bunce. New York.
Played at Laura Keene's Theatre, 1857.

*Neighbor Jackwood. Domestic Drama, in Five Acts, by John Townsend Trowbridge. Boston: 1857. N Y P
Founded upon the novel of the same name; produced at the Boston Museum, 1857.

*Nothing to Nurse. Original Farce, in One Act, by Charles M. Walcot. New York: 1857. L C
Played at Laura Keene's Theatre, 1857.

Old and Young; or, Both Alike. Comedy, in Two Acts, by John Salmon. Boston: 1857. L C

*The Poor of New York. Drama, in Five Acts, by Dion Boucicault. New York: 1857. L C
Performed at Wallack's Theatre.

Saul. Drama, in Three Parts, by Charles Heavysege. Montreal: 1857; Boston: 1869. N Y P

The Sons of the Night. Drama, in Three Days, by Charles Gayler. New York: 1857. N Y P
First produced at the Broadway Theatre, N. Y., 1857.

Wanted—A Widow, with Immediate Possession. Farce, in One Act, by Dion Boucicault and Charles Seymour. New York: 1857. L C
Performed at Wallack's Theatre.

The Widow's Marriage. Comedy, by George Henry Boker. Boston: 1857. L C

1858

*Americans in Paris; or, A Game of Dominoes. Comedy, in Two Acts, by Wm. Henry Hurlbert. New York: 1858. L C
Performed at Wallack's Theatre.

*Blanche of Brandywine. American Patriotic Spectacle, in Four Acts, dramatized by J. G. Burnett from George Lippard's romance. New York: 1858. L C
Played at Laura Keene's Theatre.

Desert Deserted; or, The Last Days of Brigham Young. Comedy, in Four Acts, Author unknown. New York: 1858. L C
Performed at Wallack's Theatre.

The Great Tragic Revival. Dramatic Absurdity, in One Act and Several Tableaux, by John Brougham. New York: 1858. L C
Performed at Burton's Theatre.

Hippolytus. Tragedy, by Julia Ward Howe. New York: 1858.

Horseshoe Robinson; or, The Battle of King's Mountain. Legendary Patriotic Drama, in Three Acts, by C. W. Tayleure. New York: 1858. N Y P

Jessie Brown; or, The Relief of Lucknow. Drama, in Three Acts, by Dion Boucicault. New York: 1858. L C

Mary's Birthday; or, The Cynic. Play, in Three Acts, by George Henry Miles. Boston: 1858. L C

*Miraldi; or, The Justice of Tacon. Drama, in Three Acts, by Maturin M. Ballou. Boston: 1859. L C
Played at the Howard Athenaeum, Boston, 1858. L C

*The Musard Ball; or, Love at the Academy. Extravaganza, in One Act, by John Brougham. New York: 1858. L C
Performed at Burton's Theatre.

*Neptune's Defeat; or, The Seizure of the Seas. By John Brougham. New York: 1858. L C
Played at Wallack's Theatre.

The Queen's Heart. Comedy, by John Williamson Palmer. Boston: 1858. N Y P

The Sons of Usna. Tragic Apotheosis, in Five Acts, by Thomas Halley Chivers. Philadelphia: 1858.

*Take Care of Little Charley. Farce, in One Act, by John Brougham. New York: 1858. L C

Viola. Play, in Four Acts, by Edward Maturin. New York: 1858. L C

*Wheat and Chaff. Comedy, in Five Acts, by D. Wadsworth Wainwright, M. D. New York: 1858. L C
Played at Wallack's Theatre.

White Lies. Drama, by Mrs. Elizabeth F. Ellet. New York: 1858.

1859

Art and Artifice; or, Woman's Love. Original Drama, in Five Acts, by John Brougham. New York: 1859. L C
Performed at the Metropolitan Theatre.

My Friend Isaac. Original Comedietta, in One Act, by Daniel K. Ford. Boston: 1859. L C

*The Octoroon; or, Life in Louisiana. Play, in Five Acts, by Dion Boucicault. L C
First played at the Winter Garden Theatre, N. Y., 1859.

*Ossawattomie Brown; or, The Insurrection at Harper's Ferry. Drama, in Three Acts, by Mrs. J. C. Swayze. New York: 1859. L C
Performed at the Bowery Theatre.

*Senor Valiente. Comedy, in Five Acts, by George Henry Miles. Baltimore: 1859. L C.

Valentia. Play, in Five Acts, by J. Seawell. Mobile: 1859.

The Veteran; or, France and Algeria. Drama, in Six Tableaux, by J. Lester Wallack. New York: 1859. L C
Performed at Wallack's Theatre.

1860

The Calleen Bawn; or, The Brides of Garryowen. Domestic Drama, in Three Acts, by Dion Boucicault. New York: 1860. L C
First performed at Laura Keene's Theatre, 1860.

Count Filippo; or, The Unequal Marriage. Drama, in Five Acts, by Charles Heavysege. Montreal: 1860.

The Elopement; or, Love and Duty. Play, in Three Acts, by Robert Morris. Philadelphia: 1860.

Ireland As It Is. Drama, in Three Acts, by J. A. Amherst. New York: 1860. L C

Mortara; or, The Pope and His Inquisitors. Drama, by H. M. Moos. Cincinnati: 1860. N Y P

PART III, CHAPTER IV

1860

*Quaker Quiddities; or, Friends in Council. Colloquy, by James B. Congdon. Boston: 1860: L C

1861

Liddesdale; or, The Border Chief. Tragedy, by James Lawson, New York: 1861; Yonkers: 1874. N Y P

Playing With Fire. Original Comedy, in Five Acts, by John Brougham. London: 1861. L C

1862

The Doctor of Alcantara. Opera Bouffe, in Two Acts. Libretto by Benjamin Woolf. Boston: 1862.
First performed, Boston Museum, 1862.

*The Guerrillas. Original Domestic Drama, in Three Acts, by James D. McCabe. Richmond: 1863. L C
Played at Richmond Varieties, Dec. 22, 1862.

1863

*Kissing a Soldier! Drama, by T. B. Price. Baltimore: 1863. B

Love's Ambuscade; or, The Sergeant's Stratagem. War Drama, in Three Acts, by J. J. Delchamps. Mobile: 1863. B A

The Royal Ape. Dramatic Poem, by Wm. Russell Smith. Richmond: 1863. B A
Concerning official life at Washington, at the time of the battle of Bull Run. B A

Thomas à Beckett. Tragedy, by Alexander Hamilton. New York: 1863. N Y P

1864

*Arnold and André. Historical Drama, by George Henry Calvert. Boston: 1864. L C

Helémah; or, The Fall of Montezuma. Tragedy, by Mrs. Estelle A. B. Lewis. New York: 1864.

1865

*A Supper in Dixie. Farce, in One Act, by James Triplet. New York; 1865. L C
McVicker's Theatre, Chicago.

Depreciation. Play, in Four Acts, by Charles A. Sumner. San Francisco: 1865 (?).

*Rip Van Winkle. Adaptation, by Dion Boucicault, for Joseph Jefferson.
Played in London, 1865.

The Tipperary Warbler. Play, in Three Acts. Author unknown. Rochester: 1865.

1866

*A Change of Base. Play, in Two Scenes, by Mrs. D. S. Curtis. Boston: 1868. L C
Written, 1866.

1867

Calvary. Virginia. Tragedies, by Laughton Osborn. New York: 1867. N Y P

The Harp Without the Crown; or, Mount Cashel's Fair Daughter. Irish Historical Drama, in Four Acts, by William Kelley. New York: 1867.

Jephthah's Daughter. Drama, in Five Acts, by Mrs. Adelia C. Graves. Memphis: 1867.

*The Legend of Norwood; or, Village Life in New England. Comedy, in Four Acts, by Augustin Daly, New York: 1867. L C
Founded on a novel by Henry Ward Beecher.

*Under the Gaslight. Drama, in Five Acts, by Augustin Daly. New York: 1867. L C
Played at the New York Theatre.

1868

Cromwell. Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Alexander Hamilton. New York: 1868. N Y P

*John Endicott. Tragedy, in Five Acts; * * * * * * * * * * *

*Giles Corey of the Salem Farms. Tragedy, in Five Acts. By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.
Published as "The New England Tragedies." Boston: 1868. L C

Mariana; or, The Coquette. Comedy, by T. H. Morris. Baltimore: 1868. B

The School for Critics. Comedy, by Laughton Osborn. New York: 1868. L C

Sappho. Tragedy, by Mrs. Estelle A. B. Lewis. London: 1868; 1875, N Y P

*The Spirit of Seventy Six; or, The Coming Woman. Prophetic Drama, in Three Acts, by Mrs. D. S. Curtis. Boston: 1868. L C

1869

*Dollars and Cents. Original American Comedy, in Three Acts, by L. J. Hollenius. New York: 1869. L C
First performed at the Union League Theatre, 1872.

The Fair Truant. Operetta, in Two Acts, by Thomas Ward. New York: 1869.

The Fifth Wheel. Comedy, by Henry L. Williams, Jr. New York: 1869.

1870

*Saratoga; or, Pistols for Seven. Comic Drama, in Five Acts, by Bronson Howard. New York. L C
First played Dec. 21, 1870 at Daly's Fifth Avenue Theatre, N. Y.

BIBLIOGRAPHY II

A List of Biographical, Historical, Critical, and Reference Works Containing Information About the Plays, Playwrights, Theaters, and Actors of America Prior to 1870

This bibliography, giving a fairly inclusive list of the available and most illuminative works on the subjects above mentioned, includes nearly all the *books* that I have consulted, though but few of the *magazine articles*. The latter may be found in the standard magazine indexes. Names in parentheses are the key to footnote-references.

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